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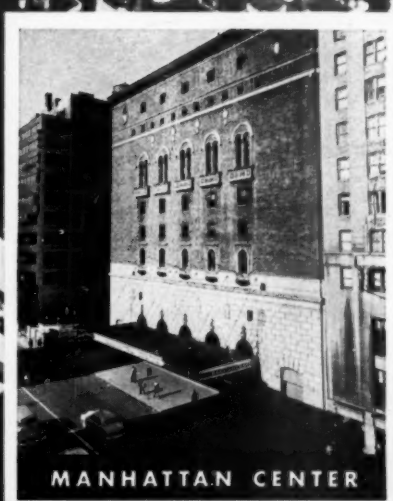
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The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

DECEMBER, 1955

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 62, No. 12

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Job Hazards

New substances are frequently used in manufacturing before anyone knows whether they are harmful. Not even the manufacturer of the new substance always knows the effect of exposure day after day.

The other day I visited the occupational health research laboratories of the U.S. Public Health Service. Investigations are carried on there concerning many poisonous materials to which workers are exposed.

One field that is getting a lot of attention is that related to atomic energy. Did you ever stop to think what uranium ores may do to those who mine them? For several centuries in Europe, workers in mines where there is some radiation from this dust have had a rather high amount of lung cancer. The Public Health Service wants to know how long workers can be exposed to the dust without danger of lung cancer.

Here in these laboratories investigators are giving a good deal of attention to the effect of different things on the skin. Waterless hand cleansers are being studied. This will provide some much-needed information.

Air pollution in many of our cities has reached such a stage that there is a possibility of real harm if something is not done about it. Deaths have resulted from contaminated air. Until we know what is in the air that is harmful, proper protection cannot be provided. Much work is being done on this subject.

Other problems being studied, which are somewhat different but which have to do with jobs, are fatigue and effects of mechanical vibrations, as in air hammers and other pneumatic tools in the hands of workers. Another problem that is being investigated is the relationship of industrial noise to loss of hearing. This is a subject of which not enough is known.

William A. Sawyer, M.D.

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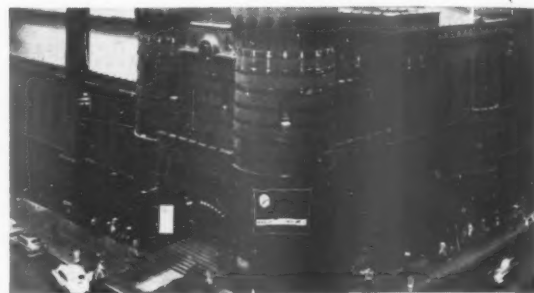
ON THE THRESHOLD OF LABOR UNITY

WE ARE NOW drawing near a historic milestone in the annals of the American trade union movement. Within a few days a joint convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations will weld the two groups into a single, united national labor center representing more than 15,000,000 American workers at the outset.

The full significance of this great step forward can scarcely be foreseen at this time. It may take years before all the potential benefits of labor unity are completely realized. Nevertheless, the workers of this country and the nation as a whole should derive immediate and substantial gains from the consolidation. Here are the major areas where progress can safely be predicted:

(1) Organized labor at last will be able to present a united front. It will become a stronger and more effective instrumentality in every field of action. The accent will be on constructive unity, rather than destructive rivalry. Employers no longer will be able to play one union off against another. As the spirit of unity takes hold, the entire fabric of the labor movement will be fortified and all its component parts will cooperate closely to bring about success of our objectives.

(2) Provided that economic conditions do not deteriorate, labor unity is certain to pay off at the bargaining table in higher wages, better working conditions and improved welfare benefits. Such advances will, of course, be of direct help to union members. Unorganized workers also will share in the gains eventually. Business and the farmers likewise should bene-



The 71st Regiment Armory in New York City, where the merger convention will be held.

fit through greater demand for their increased production.

(3) There will undoubtedly be more effective campaigns to organize the unorganized. This effort is vital to the future prosperity of our nation. Low standards prevailing among unorganized workers act as a drag against the progress of the national economy. Organization of millions of new union members is bound to result in lifting their standards and purchasing power. The business community and the farm community, faced with the danger of surplus production, need this great new market. Only in this way can new job opportunities be created to provide employment for our steadily increasing population.

(4) It goes without saying that labor unity will provide a more effective instrument for political action. Our major objective is to elect strong, liberal majorities to Congress. Thus we can reverse the trend of recent years which has resulted in the enactment of such union-busting legislation as the federal Taft-Hartley Act and the misnamed state "right to work" laws. These laws are a continuing threat to the very existence of unions.

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(5) At the same time, we hope to obtain more effective support for legislative programs necessary for the constructive advancement of American life. Delay and neglect have aggravated the urgent need for modernizing the nation's educational facilities, for vital flood control projects, for a broad highway construction program, for low-cost housing and for slum clearance. These goals can be advanced by more effective political action by a united labor movement.

(6) We anticipate a wider role for labor in the field of community service. By uniting, labor can do a better job toward improving conditions in our cities and towns and make a more significant contribution to community welfare programs.

(7) Above all, American labor is determined to intensify its activities in defense of world peace and freedom. All our efforts to build a more secure and richer life for the people of this country depend upon the avoidance of another world war and upon the preservation of the free way of life. It is therefore our purpose to make our full contribution to the national defense, to expose the hypocrisy of aggressive communism and to work tirelessly with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to prevent the spread of communism among workers anywhere in the free world.

(8) We have found that the best answer to communism is to make democracy work here at home. Our entire program is geared to that objective. We are resolved that the blessings of the free way of life shall be accorded to all our people, regardless of race, religion or color. Equality of opportunity for all Americans must become a living fact.

IT IS manifestly impossible in this brief space to do much more than sketch in broad outline the highlights of the far-flung program to which the united labor movement has dedicated itself.

Our success is dependent to a large degree upon the spirit and determination of those entrusted with leadership of the millions of workers in our movement. Unity cannot magically be attained overnight at the top. It must be firmly cemented into place at the very



Labor history has often been made in the nation's largest city. In 1882 New York saw first Labor Day parade.

foundations of our movement at the local and state level. Because of the overwhelmingly favorable response of union members everywhere in the nation to the forthcoming merger, we are confident that unity can be made truly effective, that past rivalries will give way to the spirit of brotherhood, and that we can all march down the road together toward real achievement in the years to come.



Progress was made in meetings of A. F. of L. and C.I.O. officers. All agreed that a lack of unity benefited no one but foes of labor.



The A. F. of L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

[AS OF NOVEMBER 14, 1955, WHEN
THIS ISSUE WENT TO PRESS]

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WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
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This picture of George Meany and Walter Reuther was taken at the close of Unity Committee session in New York in October.

THIS MONTH of December, in the year 1955, is destined to be historic. For this month will see the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations united under one banner. This event will bring joy to millions of men and women who work for wages throughout the land. The protracted division in American labor's ranks, which had hurt the economic well-being of those who toil and impaired the effectiveness of the trade union movement, will be terminated by official convention action in New York City.

Three conventions will be held. On December 1, the American Federation of Labor will open its seventy-fourth convention at the Hotel Statler in the nation's largest city. On that same day, only a short distance away at Manhattan Center, the Congress of

Industrial Organizations will open its seventeenth constitutional convention. It is believed that the convention of the A. F. of L. and the convention of the C.I.O. will be in session for two days—December 1 and 2.

On Monday, December 5, in the 71st Regiment Armory, the third convention will get under way. On that day the merger convention of the united American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations will begin. This history-making parley will continue in session until it has completed all its business. This will probably take four or five days.

Immediately following his election as president of the American Federation of Labor, on Tuesday, November 25, in the year 1952, George Meany declared:

"We are ready, willing and anxious

to talk to the C.I.O. about this very vital question of the unity of labor in the United States."

The response of the C.I.O. was in the same spirit.

Subsequently, the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unity committees met and held fruitful discussions. A no-raiding agreement was drafted in 1953 and signed in 1954. Early this year complete agreement was reached on the terms of a merger of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. Then came the drafting of a proposed constitution for the new merged organization.

Thus in three eventful years American labor progressed step by step toward the great goal which millions of workers wanted but which many had once considered almost impossible—the establishment of a united trade union movement.

Matters of personnel were settled at this meeting of the Joint Unity Committee.



The Executive Council Meets



Secretary Schnitzler (left) and President Meany.

MEEETING in New York City, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor gave its attention to vital pre-convention items of business. The Council spent a large part of the session, which was held at the Hotel Commodore, on the preparation of the detailed report to be distributed to the delegates in attendance at this month's A. F. of L. convention.

Matters connected with the coming consolidation of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. were discussed by the Council, and at a meeting of the Unity Committee—also held at the Hotel Commodore—C.I.O. and A. F. of L. representatives virtually completed the mechanics of the consolidation.

The Executive Council assailed mere talk about "peaceful co-existence." Such talk, the A. F. of L.'s leaders said, is meaningless and dangerously misleading.

"The debris of broken pledges has become the gravest source of world tension," the Council asserted in a statement. "This debris must be removed before the foundations for a just and lasting peace can be built."

The Council stressed that efforts to reduce tension without removing the causes that produce tension are bound to fail.

"The arbitrary division of Europe has brought millions of people on both sides of

the Iron Curtain political instability, economic insecurity and constant danger of war," the statement said.

The foreign ministers of the Big Four were urged to strive for an agreement providing for compliance with and enforcement of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights throughout the captive countries. The Council asked the Geneva conference to call upon the Kremlin to release from Soviet and satellite prisons and concentration camps all trade unionists and other persons jailed or deported for activity in behalf of human and national freedom.

The Council recommended repeal of the 20 per cent tax levied on night clubs and cafes. Congressional committees considering revision of the tax structure should especially look into "excise taxes that have proved discriminatory or unjust," the Council declared.

The 20 per cent tax was termed "obviously discriminatory." The Council emphasized the destruction of employment opportunities for catering workers, musicians and entertainers which has resulted from this tax. Enacted in wartime as a temporary tax, the levy has been kept on the books ever since.

Objections were withdrawn to the absorption of the Fur and Leather Workers by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. The Executive Council found that the Meat Cutters have done a good job in eliminating Communist control from the Fur Workers.



Vice-President Dubinsky (left) and Vice-President MacGowan.

ON THIS MATTER OF STRIKES . . .

Could We Have a Little FAIR PLAY?

by William F. Schnitzler

THE TERM "strike" is the total knowledge that millions of Americans, dependent upon the daily press for their information, ever acquire of the trade union movement. Let there be a labor dispute anywhere in the nation and every paper in the country will carry the news. A big strike is worth a headline, and a little one is always good for at least a filler. The newspapers of a city may headline a strike that takes place a thousand miles away, yet totally ignore the numerous peaceful collective bargaining settlements that take place within a radius of a few blocks of the mass of their readers.

In the handling of strike news, one seldom finds in the newspapers an even-handed treatment of the merits and demerits of the issues in dispute. The tendency is to describe these incidents as another case of "labor trouble"—never "management trouble." Yet we working people know from our own bitter experience how often it happens that strikes are wilfully provoked by employers. Sometimes this is done as a tactical device to achieve some objective outside the realm of labor-management matters, while casting the union in the role of public scapegoat.

I do not mean that labor is always right or should not be subject to criticism. I do mean that labor is not so often wrong as the general public



MR. SCHNITZLER

is led to believe by reading the nation's press, and that the merits of labor's position should receive a wider acknowledgment than is usually the case.

It would be a fine thing for the nation if the public had a better chance to become acquainted with the brighter side of this picture.

The newspapers now keep a box-score or running account of ball games, stock market averages, traffic fatalities and the weather. Could they not just as easily keep a kind of box-score on developments in labor-management relations that would reflect the facts more accurately on their pages than is now the case?

Could they not each day or week, for example, publish a simple statement of the fact that during a given period throughout the nation, say, 300 collective bargaining agreements were signed, of which 299 were negotiated peacefully and only one involved a strike, or that 400 were signed, of which none involved a strike?

The High Cost of NON-UNION DUES

By GEORGE T. BROWN



MR. BROWN

Employers who, because of greed, are opposed to organized labor are always quick to repeat the ancient fairy tale that dues-paying is only for union members—that the non-union worker 'saves money' by staying out of the union.

But the non-unionist does pay dues—very heavy dues. He pays those dues to his employer—every day, every week, every month. Simple arithmetic shows that the non-union worker who receives 20 cents an hour less than the prevailing union wage for the same job is paying dues to his employer amounting to at least \$32 per month. So the non-unionist isn't saving any money; actually, he is losing money all the time by being a non-member.

Isn't it high time that intelligent Americans stopped repeating this silly fairy tale that non-union workers don't pay any dues?

OF ALL THE MYTHS which have widespread acceptance today, none has a stronger hold on the imagination of the general public than the belief that non-union workers do not pay dues. As a matter of fact, it is a practical impossibility to discuss trade unionism at almost any level of society without reaching the point where this myth is cited as a "good reason" for not joining a labor union. More than that, anti-union employers not only believe this "fact" but they never miss an opportunity to remind their employees of their "freedom" from dues-paying.

Popular myths die a slow death, but die they will if reason and truth are allowed to prevail. Do you believe that only trade union members pay dues but non-members do not? Well, let's

put aside our emotions and our biases and face the facts. *What facts? Whose facts?*

Recently the Bureau of Labor Statistics in the U.S. Department of Labor published the results of its comparative studies of union and non-union wages since 1950. The studies were made in some eleven manufacturing industries in which there were both unionized and non-unionized plants; fully organized industries were excluded along with industries which were fully unorganized. All told, some 306 occupations in these eleven industries were examined and comparative data on a nationwide basis were obtained.

These government-directed studies demonstrated that average union wage rates are higher than average non-union wage rates and that the

differential varied considerably from job to job and from industry to industry. *On a nationwide basis, the most common union differential is from 10 cents to 20 cents AND MORE per hour.*

With these facts concerning wage differentials in mind—as established by actual surveys conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor—let us return to our very popular myth that “non-union employees do not pay dues.”

Concretely, the non-union workers in those occupations which paid 20 cents per hour less than the union wage for the same job received \$8 per week or roughly \$32 per month less than the union worker. In other words, while the non-union worker did not pay union dues each month, he certainly paid \$32 per month dues for not being a trade union member. In effect, he paid his employer—by a check-off—\$32 per month for the privilege of staying out of the trade union of his trade or occupation.

Incidentally, there were wage rate differentials amounting to 42 cents and 55 cents per hour in favor of union workers. You figure out the amount of dues the non-union workers paid in those instances.

When these U.S. government facts concerning wage differentials or non-union dues are placed beside the \$2.50 to \$5 per month dues paid by trade unionists, the high cost of non-union dues becomes self-evident. The non-union worker who believes he is “saving money” by not paying union dues is certainly deluding himself. He should sit down and figure for himself the dues he must pay his employer for keeping the wage rates low.

There is still another fact which the non-union worker should bear in mind. No matter how high the cost of not belonging to the trade union may be to him, he should thank the trade union movement for keeping those non-union dues so “low.”

The fact has long been established that trade unions induce non-union employers as well as union employers to raise wages. When collective bargaining leads to wage increases, non-union employers in the same industry or in the same area follow suit—not to the same amount and not at the same time, to be sure. Instead, the non-union employers follow the lead of more progressive employers as a matter of compulsion and fear of losing their better employees. As a consequence, the wage differentials between union and non-union plants are less than they would be if

trade unions did not demonstrate wage leadership, and non-union dues are kept smaller as a result.

Indeed, there are relatively few employers who misunderstand or dislike trade unions to the point where they bear the entire cost of anti-union insurance and permit their employees to work without paying any non-union dues at all. Concretely, the U.S. Department of Labor study mentioned previously indicates that in 10 per cent of the occupations examined the average wage was *higher* in the non-union plants. These employees are not mere “free riders”; they are “paid passengers.” Their indebtedness to the trade union movement is therefore measurably greater than their fellow non-union dues-payers’.

While there is unfortunately no identical government study of union and non-union differentials in fringe benefits, it is nevertheless possible to make the generalization that union members enjoy fringe benefits superior to those of non-union workers. Without benefit of the precise measurements resulting from a federal government survey, the conclusion is evident that non-union workers also pay dues to their employers in the forms of fewer paid holidays, lower overtime rates, shorter vacations, limited health and welfare plans, smaller night-shift differentials and other well-established benefits. Here again non-union workers must wait—hat in hand—until trade unionists obtain improvements through collective bargaining which will induce the employers of non-union workers to provide them with a reasonable facsimile of union fringe benefits.

Without in any way reflecting upon the excellent contribution made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor in its studies of union and non-union wage differences, no one can overlook the more basic “dues” which non-union workers must pay—specifically, what they pay in terms of human dignity.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to communicate to the public in general and to non-union wage-earners in particular the meaning of working in shops where human rights are protected and assured by a militant trade union. Self-respect is not measured by money differentials or differences in working conditions.

Yet it is this aspect of labor-management relations which non-union workers will never realize, no matter how high the cost of non-union dues may go.

The L.L.P.E. Story

1947-1955

By JAMES L. McDEVITT

Director, Labor's League for Political Education

PASSAGE of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, which came on top of other anti-labor, anti-people legislation, made it plain to the working men and women of America that they must organize politically.

As stated by A. F. of L. President George Meany last March in his address to the C.I.O. Automobile Workers, we didn't choose this political battleground.

"If they can pass laws that can hamstring, weaken and destroy the trade union movement, then our place to defend ourselves is the same halls where they passed those laws," said President Meany.

So in October of 1947 delegates to the sixty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Francisco voted unanimously to establish a political arm, Labor's League for Political Education.

The preamble of the constitution of Labor's League for Political Education says:

"The need for greater protection of workers, organized and unorganized, against legislation inimical to their interests and well-being has been brought into bold relief by enactment of the infamous Taft-Hartley Act and numerous state anti-labor statutes.

"Such attacks can successfully be defeated only by means of unified, intelligent, effective and coordinated action on the part of workers through an organization established for such purposes.

"Congress has failed to enact much-needed legislation looking toward the advancement and improvement of the condition of the working man and his family, such as legislation respecting housing, social security and the health and welfare of the worker.

"This failure also indicates the need of progressive, unified and effective action by the workers.



MR. McDEVITT

"There is hereby created and established Labor's League for Political Education to protect the interests of labor and promote and maintain the public welfare by education and all other democratic and lawful action."

The constitution of L.L.P.E. provides that it shall cooperate with organizations representing farmers, veterans, workers and other citizen groups whose aims and objects are compatible and in harmony with those of Labor's League.

The organizational structure of the League was formed on December 5, 1947, at a conference in Washington of national and international unions. A National Committee, composed of members of the Executive Council and the presidents of all the national and international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., was established as the parent governing body. There also was set up an Administrative Committee, consisting of Executive Council members and from fifteen to twenty other representatives of national and international unions. At the present time there are thirty-six

members of the Administrative Committee.

An Executive Committee, to carry on the work of Labor's League between meetings of the Administrative Committee, was also provided for. The Executive Committee consists of the chairman and secretary-treasurer of L.L.P.E. and three additional members appointed by the Administrative Committee.

Those now serving on the Executive Committee are Chairman Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, President Harry Bates of the Bricklayers, President William Birthright of the Barbers and President Richard Walsh of the Stage employees.

Labor's League for Political Education opened its headquarters at 1525 H Street, Washington, D. C., on March 8, 1948. Joseph D. Keenan, who is now the secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and a member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., was appointed national director.

Under the national director were four departments—finance, public relations, organization, and political direction.

During 1948, L.L.P.E. brought to many millions of A. F. of L. members, their families and their friends a greater realization of the important part that each individual should take in the responsibilities of democratic government at the local, state and national levels. Its educational campaign of pointing up the issues and of publicizing the voting record and position of every member of Congress resulted in a resounding success at the polls that November.

Where there had been only eighty-three pro-labor Representatives and only twenty-five pro-labor Senators in the Eightieth Congress, trade unionists and others went to the polls and elected 209 pro-labor Representa-



Joseph Keenan was L.L.P.E.'s chief in its first years. He was a hard driver, and in 1948 labor elected many friends to Senate and House.

partment of the A. F. of L. in September, 1951, I was privileged to be chosen by the L.L.P.E. Administrative Committee as the new national director. I previously had served for sixteen years as president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.

The 1952 election story is well known. General Eisenhower's popularity carried him to victory in the Presidential race. But here is something that many Americans are not aware of:

Immediately after the election, Labor's League for Political Education made an intensive survey of precincts and wards where working people voted. In city after city — Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, New York, Minneapolis,

Chattanooga, St. Louis, Denver, Boston—we discovered that trade unionists supported candidates endorsed by labor right down the line, from the White House to the City Hall.

My own home town of Philadelphia is a case in point. There Adlai Stevenson, the Presidential candidate who had been endorsed by the A. F. of L., carried the city by 160,000 votes despite the fact that General Eisenhower carried the state of Pennsylvania by 270,000. The reason: Philadelphia's L.L.P.E. did one of the most intensive political education jobs in the country.

The following year, 1953, the League for the first time conducted a voluntary fund-raising drive in a non-election year. This is necessary chiefly because there must be a "backlog" of money at the start of an elec-

tion year with which to help elect candidates in Southern states who have a liberal point of view.

The big elections in the South are not the general elections in November; in the South the big elections are the Democratic Party primaries, which are held in the spring. Primary winners are assured of election in almost every district in Dixie. Thus the candidates in the South begin active campaigning soon after the new year begins.

THE accomplishments of an off-year fund-raising drive showed up crystal-clear in the 1954 election results. Fortified with a moderate reserve of funds raised in the first non-election year contribution campaign of 1953, Labor's League and its state and local units in the South were able to furnish stout assistance to progressive Senatorial and Congressional candidates.

John Sparkman of Alabama, Kerr Scott of North Carolina and Robert Kerr of Oklahoma came through their tough Senatorial primary battles with flying colors and strong labor support. On the other hand, the violently anti-labor Representative Wingate Lucas of Texas was defeated.

In the 1954 elections L.L.P.E. and other liberal organizations succeeded in electing such pro-labor Senators as Patrick McNamara of Michigan, Paul Douglas of Illinois, Richard Neuberger of Oregon, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming, among others.

Among the bitter reactionaries who went down to defeat—despite active campaigning on their behalf by President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon—were Homer Ferguson of Michigan, Guy Cordon of Oregon, Joseph Meek of Illinois and Wesley D'Ewart of Montana.

In all, we registered a net gain of four friendly Senators.

In the House we increased by twenty-three the number of members who can be counted on as favorable to us on labor legislation. Pro-labor Congressmen who won with our help were too numerous to mention their names here. Suffice it to say that in industrial areas, in nearly



Pennsylvanian Jim McDevitt (left) was named L.L.P.E. director in 1951. He's been doing an excellent job. Here he is seen having a talk with Thomas A. Murray, veteran leader of the New York State Federation of Labor.

every case where candidates were endorsed by units of the League, they were elected.

A large measure of our success in 1954 must be credited to the fact that we set up area directors in the East, South, Midwest and Far West who constantly traveled around organizing local L.L.P.E. units, carried on our voluntary fund-raising campaign and took our message straight to the working man and woman in the union halls.

Another large share of credit should go to the women who, working with the director of our women's division, also established in 1954, did everything from registering voters and raising funds for L.L.P.E. to driving voters to the polls and babysitting on Election Day.

The area directors and the women's division have been more active than ever this year, when we again have conducted an off-year drive for contributions.

THE job of L.L.P.E. has been educating A. F. of L. members. The task is, of course, a slow one—as is all educational work. But we are succeeding. This is proved, I believe, by the response to our fund-raising drive and the interest shown in our informational and research material.

Thus we have collected considerably more money this year than in 1953—the other non-election year in which we held a fund-raising drive. And requests for reprints of our pamphlets, leaflets, posters, monthly reports and political memos have reached a new high in 1955.

Labor's League for Political Education is trying to do exactly what its name implies. It is trying to educate the people of the United States about public affairs. It wants to make the people aware of the issues which affect them both as individuals who have their own interests and as citizens concerned with the welfare of their neighborhoods, their towns and cities, their states and their country.

Labor's League for Political Education wants the people to understand what the real issues are that their city councils, their state legislatures and their Congress are considering. L.L.P.E. wants every man and woman to know what the Taft-Hartley Act does to them. It wants them to know who is in favor and who is against

the act. Likewise, the League wants the people to understand what the Administration's farm plan is all about. It wants them to know which Congressmen are for it and which are against it. And thus on down the line—housing, wages and hours, social security, health, education, water power, irrigation, public work, taxes and economic policy, veteran's affairs, foreign relations.

On the state level L.L.P.E. attempts to explain why Utah lawmakers slapped labor and outlawed the closed shop; or how California legislators voted on a "hot cargo" bill; or what pressure groups tried to kill an increase in old-age assistance that the Texas legislature considered.

Labor's League for Political Education is certain that if the people understand the issues, know how their representatives in the state legislatures and Congress voted and why, then the people will make their wishes and ideas known to their representatives—to the benefit of themselves, their states and their country.

Labor's League for Political Education knows that a citizen can scream his head off, or slap backs until his hand is blue, and not do any good unless he votes.

Getting out the vote is a primary aim of the League. L.L.P.E. helps to



From Oklahoma came Margaret Thornburgh to head the women's division of L.L.P.E. Buttonholed gentleman is Joseph McCurdy, president of the United Garment Workers.

inform the people what the registration and voting laws are. How long must a resident of, say, Indiana live in his state before he can vote? What are the registration dates for taking part in a primary election in Georgia? How much poll tax must a person pay in Virginia—and what is the deadline for paying it—to qualify as a voter?

These are the questions which the average person wants answered. L.L.P.E. helps to supply the answers because it knows elections are won, or lost, in the towns and precincts.

Labor's League for Political Education, then, tries to educate men and women on matters of government at every level—and then get them to vote.

The League is strictly non-partisan. It is not for or against anybody because he is a Democrat or a Republican. It does not favor or oppose legislation simply because it is in the Democratic or Republican platform.

What L.L.P.E. does stand for is liberalism.

It believes that what is best for the greatest number of the people of the United States is best for the country as a whole.

It believes that government can't stand still. It must go forward. And "forward," to L.L.P.E. means better health, better housing, better working conditions, better education, more security for the workers, the aged and the unemployed, stable prices for the farmer, fair profits for the businessman.

It means all those things that will make America a better place in which to live, to work, to rear children.



League knows importance of women in elections. Doris Cates is directing women's activities down Texas way.



By **JAMES C. PETRILLO**
President, American Federation of Musicians

AN INTENSIVE campaign to restore some 50,000 jobs to deserving musicians, through the repeal of the 20 per cent federal amusement tax, is now being waged on a nationwide front by the American Federation of Musicians.

Equal only in importance to our twenty-year fight to survive the growing threat of canned music, the current campaign aims at reviving an important segment of the entertainment business which represented about half of the total employment potential for musicians before it was all but wiped out by a wholly uneconomic federal tax policy. Next to unbridled machine-made music, the federal 20 per cent amusement tax is the gravest threat to musicians' livelihood and to the future of music itself.

This so-called "cabaret tax" is not a new tax. It was first voted as an "emergency" check on spending right after World War I. It remains today, but not at the 3 to 5 per cent level of the period between the two great wars, nor at the 10 per cent level to which other emergency war taxes were reduced in April, 1954. The cabaret tax remains at the business- and job-killing rate of 20 per cent fixed during World War II—the most discriminatory of all the excises.

This tax is commonly described as a "luxury tax." Actually, it does not apply on the champagne you drink or the expensive food you eat, provided the place you patronize furnishes no entertainment for your pleasure and no music for dancing. This so-called "luxury tax" invites you to eat and drink all you want—but don't be merry or your fund will cost you 20 per cent on top of your dinner check.

As I told our delegates to our annual convention in Cleveland last June, I want to see the return of the day when the average Joe can take his wife out for supper and a dance date. This 20 per cent amusement tax ended all that—and it eliminated 50,000 musicians' jobs.

The rich guy can go out, wash caviar down with the finest champagne and dance all he wants at a private club and he pays no tax. The average Joe, who can't afford a country club, is the one who gets stuck. He and the musicians are the real fall guys of this misguided federal tax policy.

Our union has long called this levy a tax of no return. Everyone wants to balance the national budget. Well, we intend to prove to the Treasury and to Congress that the \$38,000,000 this ruinous tax brought in during the last fiscal year is a small return indeed, compared with the increased individual and corporate tax income the Treasury would get if they'd let our people go back to work. For each musician who would get a job through repeal of the 20 per cent tax, there would be five more jobs for waiters, waitresses, kitchen workers and other service help. This means another 250,000 persons employed—all paying income taxes.

The 20 per cent tax has never done anything but keep musicians out of jobs, make it impossible for small establishments to have entertainment and deprive the average Joe of a chance to enjoy himself. The American Federation of Musicians intends to present its case, backed up by expert fact findings, to federal authorities next year. We will seek relief under the 1956 tax bill.

We are conducting a grass-roots



MR. PETRILLO

educational campaign to convince the public as well as members of Congress that this discriminatory legislation imposes a wartime levy which has long since become a tax of no return and a job hurdle in a profession that has long suffered from critical unemployment.

WHILE our Tax Relief Committee has been busy directing the field work among members of Congress, the research company employed last April by our union has made a nationwide study of the economic effects of the 20 per cent tax. It has completed its fact-finding and in its own words has confirmed the following:

(1) This tax is responsible for almost as many job losses as was caused by canned music.

(2) Some 50,000 job losses for musicians alone over the last ten years are chargeable directly or indirectly to the tax. The total job loss amounts to 250,000 when waiters, waitresses, cooks, kitchen and other service help are counted.

(3) Our economists tell us they

will be able to prove to the Treasury and Congress that the \$38,000,000 which this tax returned in the last fiscal year would be exceeded by personal and corporate tax accruals if the tax is repealed or substantially reduced. This tax is actually costing the Treasury revenue.

(4) At a time when generally high employment prevails, only 32.8 per cent of our members can gain their chief livelihood as instrumentalists.

(5) The future of music in America, as well as the livelihood of musicians, is gravely threatened by this unjust tax policy.

(6) The tax, first imposed shortly after the end of World War I, continues today as the highest "wartime emergency" tax of its kind—long after World War II has ended. In point of discrimination, it is unmatched by any levy on the tax rolls.

We are especially interested in the complete findings of our Tax Relief Committee's research program, for it will mark the first time that government, employer or union has ever conducted a scientific study on a nationwide basis to determine the impact of a particular tax on a particular group—in this case musicians.

Our Tax Relief Committee is fully aware of the task it faces. The Treasury indicated in October hearings that the present attitude of the Administration is to resist repeal or reduction of any excise taxes, including ours. The American Federation of Musicians recognizes the dangers inherent in a Presidential election year, when the tax-cutting insistence of Congress likely will be on vote-getting slashes on personal taxes to the exclusion of relief from particular nuisance taxes.

Nevertheless, our membership feels that the time to get rid of this tax is now. Our campaign is well under way. It is the will of our 252,512

members in 700 locals that the demand should be made now and that it be continued until relief is obtained and the jobs of the musicians are restored.

We have set up campaign offices in New York and Washington. Our Tax Relief Committee is conducting its own drive, but is cooperating insofar as possible with the several employer and employe groups which have announced their intention of also opposing the 20 per cent tax. In addition to the research findings on which we must base our plea to Washington officialdom, we are conducting a national educational campaign to inform the public and the members of Congress of the uneconomic and discriminatory effects of this tax.

When Treasury officials commenced this fall to prepare their recommendations for 1956 tax legislation, the Tax Relief Committee of the American Federation of Musicians was ready to support its relief plea with factual findings on the economic and unemployment effects of the tax. The committee will make formal presentations of this documented proof before the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committees.

Although the advance documentation and the presentation in Washington of the Federation's appeal for relief from the 20 per cent are essential steps, our Tax Relief Committee is convinced that our campaign must be won at the "grass roots" level. In this effort we have enlisted every member of the American Federation of Musicians. Our Tax Relief Committee has enrolled the 252,000 members of the Federation as working committeemen. Their influential friends and such others in the entertainment industry and among service employes as have a selfish stake or a friendly interest in curtailing this discriminatory tax have also been enlisted in this nationwide appeal.

Local opinion-makers, such as office holders, civic leaders, newspaper editors and broadcasters, club and tavern owners and managers and hotel owners, as well as those in the ranks of labor who appreciate our problem, have been informed. Their aid has been enlisted in the Musicians' campaign to obtain relief for employers and employes alike.

I am especially gratified that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in its New York City meeting only a few days ago,

adopted a resolution strongly urging that the 20 per cent tax levied on cafes and night clubs be repealed.

"This measure," the Executive Council's resolution stated, "was enacted in wartime as a temporary tax, but it has been kept on the books to the detriment of the entertainment industry and of workers employed by it." The resolution concluded: "We are convinced that there is no justification for maintaining a tax that is so obviously discriminatory, that discourages business in one particular field and that has such damaging effect on employment of catering and entertainment workers."

With support like this, our 252,000 members can look optimistically toward the prospect of repeal of a vicious tax.

I HAVE outlined the economic side of the musician's plight. But there is also the disastrous effect on our nation's culture. With less than 80,000 musicians out of a total of 252,000 earning the bulk of their living out of music, there remains a very small training ground and even less incentive for any part of the more than 30,000,000 music students in our country to continue in such a profession. The sad truth is that lack of employment opportunities is stifling one of our nation's basic cultural arts.

The musician holds the same relation to the nation's cultural health that the farmer occupies in regard to the nation's economic health. When the farmer is depressed by economic changes, the nation, through the federal government, gives him help. But in a period during which the musician has been hard-pressed by technological changes, his economic position has been further impaired by this ruinous 20 per cent tax.

Our symphony orchestras have survived, and even grown, despite a constant and harrowing shortage of funds. But they will not be able to survive a shortage of musicians possessing the highest degree of skill. And as the economic opportunity for musicians of all kinds dwindles, the present shortage of skills will grow.

We are able to understand that an economic depression on the farms will bring on an economic depression for the nation. We should be equally able to understand, from the evidence present on all sides, that an economic depression among musicians will lead to a cultural depression for the nation.



LISTEN TO EDWARD MORGAN ON ABC

WHY George Meany Won't Go to Moscow

By ARNOLD BEICHMAN

Reprinted from The New Leader

A FEW years ago Franco Spain invited American labor to send a trade union delegation to Madrid; the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. didn't even answer the invitation. I somehow fail to recall a single liberal protest against this position. Not a single delegation from a free trade union organization has ever gone to Madrid.

Yet today American labor is under attack by some liberal voices for refusing to send a delegation to Moscow. That the *Daily Worker* should attack the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. for cold-shouldering the invitation is understandable. That Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana should attack the A. F. of L.'s stand is also understandable; he hates what free labor is trying to do for the Louisiana sugar workers. But why Morris Rubin and *The Progressive* should assail American trade unions for this position I cannot understand.

Rubin's magazine singled out George Meany, A. F. of L. president, because of "the old hokum [he] used to confront a new challenge," presumably the Geneva spirit. To set the record straight, Meany isn't the only free trade unionist not going to Moscow.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has just warned against such missions, pointing out that, regardless of Geneva, the unyielding enemy of free labor is international communism. The German Federation of Labor issued a similar warning a few weeks ago. None of the major free trade union federations in Europe is urging its adherents to accept Moscow trips.

I.C.F.T.U. President Omer Becu said he would consider a visit if he could arrange a mass meeting of, say 250,000 Russian workers and make an extended address, with his own interpreter, on the virtues of free



George Meany, as a free trade unionist, knows that it would be a blow to the hopes of men enslaved by the Kremlin if a leader of democratic workers were depicted shaking hands with Khrushchev or Bulganin.

trade unionism and the evils of government unions.

What *The Progressive* fails to understand is that it is not necessarily free labor's assignment to champion a government's current foreign policy. If our government does business with Franco, it is free labor's job to oppose that policy as injurious to the cause of free labor. Would it not injure the cause of Spanish freedom if the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. were to send delegations to Spain as part of what *The Progressive* calls "people to people" exchanges? Would it not be a blow to the hopes of the enslaved of Eastern Europe to see in their controlled press cordial handshakes between George Meany, Walter Reuther or David Dubinsky on one side and Khrushchev, Bulganin or Shvernik on the other?

Shaking hands and smiling may be fine for Bulganin and Eisenhower—that's their business; it is not the business of A. F. of L., C.I.O. or I.C.F.T.U. leaders.

One value of a free trade union movement lies in its freedom to disagree with governments on foreign policy and to act on that disagreement, whether it be over colonialism in North Africa or supporting military dictatorships in Latin America.

Once a free labor organization begins to think in State Department terms, it loses its reason for existence—its moral validity. A free labor delegation to Moscow isn't the same thing as a chess team.

Less than a decade ago there were believers who thought Moscow had "changed" and, therefore, it was time to organize a World Federation of Trade Unions, to include free as well



Omer Becu, head of I.C.F.T.U., is willing to consider a visit if he could have a mass meeting and make an extended speech there on the evil nature of government unions, like those in Russia.

as Communist labor organizations. In its initial stages the W.F.T.U. had the support of democratic governments as part of the post-Yalta world. But the A. F. of L. stayed out and J. H. Oldenbroek, now general secretary of the I.C.F.T.U. and then head of the powerful International Transport Workers Federation, kept his organization out, too. In the same way, it is the I.C.F.T.U. position to help Yugoslavia but to keep Tito's "labor unions" out of the I.C.F.T.U.

This isn't a matter of being purer than the pure. Free labor has loyalties that are not to be bargained away because there is a "new climate in world affairs." Free labor's job is to remember the enslaved workers behind the Iron Curtain. To free trade unionists who remember vividly how the Kremlin succeeded in stealing the "united front" W.F.T.U., thereby establishing still-existing bastions of labor power in France and Italy, suggestions from the sidelines to try some new hidden-ball play have an unconvincing air.

Certainly if there were the remotest possibility of free debate between workers behind the Iron Curtain and



What would Russian workers be likely to read in their government-run newspapers—truth or propaganda?

the free world, it might make sense to send a delegation.

"What greater service could American labor perform," asks *The Progressive*, "in advancing freedom and free trade unionism than to compare notes, publicly, with regimented labor of Soviet Russia on wages, working conditions and welfare programs so that all the world could see the contrast?"

But does *The Progressive* really believe that comparing notes "publicly" is possible in a land whose government is still jamming radio broadcasts from the free world?

Khrushchev isn't inviting Meany to Moscow so he can convince Russian workers that Khrushchev is their enemy. There's another reason.

Doesn't *The Progressive* know what the reason is?

MARTIN P. DURKIN DIES

Martin P. Durkin, president of the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry and former U.S. Secretary of Labor, is dead. He was 61.

Mr. Durkin was chosen by President Eisenhower as his Secretary of Labor. While holding that office in 1953, Mr. Durkin spent months in a sincere effort to work out proposed changes in the Taft-Hartley Act designed to remove its inequities. When he was informed that the President had decided not to support him in trying to get these changes passed by Congress, Mr. Durkin had no choice but to resign from the Cabinet. He then returned to the presidency of the union.

Born in Chicago, Martin Durkin went to work in 1911 as a steamfitter's helper. In due course he became a journeyman. Active in his local union, he won election as an officer, and the local increased its membership greatly under his leadership. After service as secretary-treasurer of the international union, he was elevated to the U.A.'s presidency. Earlier he had been director of the Illinois Department of Labor for eight years.



This picture was taken at the 1952 A. F. of L. convention. Mr. Durkin (left), who was later to become a Cabinet member himself, is here listening to the late Maurice Tobin, who was then Secretary of Labor under President Truman.

DANIEL J. TOBIN IS DEAD

Was A.F. of L. Council Member for Many Years



DANIEL J. TOBIN

ONE of American labor's truly great leaders, Daniel J. Tobin, is dead. The president emeritus of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, who had headed that organization for forty-five years, passed away November 14 at St. Vincent's Hospital in Indianapolis.

For more than three decades he was an officer of the American Federation of Labor. He served as treasurer of the A. F. of L. for eleven years, resigning in 1928. He was a vice-president of the A. F. of L. since 1933. At the time of his death he was the A. F. of L.'s third vice-president.

Dan Tobin was an outstanding champion of the American trade union movement over a period of six decades. He took part in the great struggles that helped to build the movement from a few scattered local unions into a significant national institution. He was a close associate of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and of Samuel Gompers, chieftain of the American Federation of Labor

from its early days to 1924. Brother Tobin was highly esteemed as a stalwart of American trade unionism who had been effective in the old, simpler days and was equally effective under the complexities of modern times.

Born in County Clare, Ireland, he emigrated to Massachusetts at the age of 14. In Cambridge he worked as a conductor on horse-drawn streetcars, in a sheet metal factory and then as a teamster receiving the princely sum of \$11 for a workweek of sixty to seventy hours. He joined the drivers' union in 1896 and helped to organize the Teamsters in Boston. In 1904 he became business agent of Local 25. He was elected to the presidency of the international union in 1907. He continued in the presidency until he decided to retire in 1952.

During the time that he was at the Teamsters' helm the membership of the international increased from only 28,000 to a mighty 1,250,000. When he stepped down from the presidency, he was elected president emeritus.

As president of the Teamsters, he laid down the policy that no local union could remain in affiliation unless it scrupulously observed its contracts with employers. At the same time, he insisted that employers also faithfully carry out the terms of their agreements with the union. Dan Tobin said that any employer who tried to wriggle out of a contract would find the Teamsters using every power at their disposal to compel him to live up to the terms of the document.

"Whatever success this international union has had can be mainly attributed to this policy," he said.

Brother Tobin went abroad for the labor movement on many important assignments. He was a delegate to the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1918. He served as the A. F. of L.'s fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress in 1911, 1938 and 1942.

Funeral services were scheduled for Indianapolis. Interment was to be in his old home town, Cambridge.

The Skilled Workers of Tomorrow: Where Will America Get Them?

By JAMES A. BROWNLOW

President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WITH the increasing demand for skilled workers and further mechanization of industry processes, it is obvious that a full examination of apprenticeship programs by national and international unions is necessary.

Serving as a labor member of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, the writer has been privileged to observe apprenticeship programs, the standards which have been established and other data which arouse increased concern over the proper training of skilled workers for our present and future needs.

It has been estimated by the Bureau of Apprenticeship that there are about 5,000,000 skilled workers in our country who are presently employed in occupations which are considered as apprenticeable. Of this group, about 250,000 are lost each year due to death, retirement, disability and shifts out of the skilled category.

Where do the needed replacements come from?

Preliminary estimates made for the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship by the Bureau of Apprenticeship reveal that only a little more than 10 per cent of these annual replacements come from graduates of approved apprenticeship programs (26,724) for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954. The number will increase slightly in 1955.

Another 15,000 to 20,000 come from formerly registered apprentices who canceled out, but who subsequently entered some skilled trade each year.

Some 10,000 unregistered apprentices probably reach journeyman level each year.

In addition, it is estimated that about 10,000 skilled workers still currently enter the United States from



MR. BROWNLOW

abroad each year. An estimated additional 20,000 are trained, in large part, in vocational schools. Some of this group require training on the job before they can qualify for journeymen's rates. United States Office of Education studies show that vocational school graduates reported an average wage rate substantially below the minimum mechanics' rate.

All of these groups together account for only about 35 per cent of the skilled journeymen replacements needed each year. Where do the remaining replacements come from? Presumably the remaining 65 per cent needed to fill the replacement ranks each year are those who "pick up" a trade and get to the point where they receive journeyman rates. There is a real need for more information on this large group.

At this point let us issue a word of warning to the trade unions of our country which are interested in the training of skilled mechanics who may become future members of those unions.

The goal of the union is an ever-increasing standard of living obtained by high wages, reasonable hours of work and good working conditions. Those who will retain and advance these standards, in the main, are those who are well trained in responsibility to their crafts and those who have made some sacrifices to become skilled mechanics. There is also a recognized responsibility by the trained apprentice to the public to be able to produce that work with which he is charged, and for which he is paid.

The unions' desire has always been to be able to supply the best of mechanics when the need arises. Oftentimes the ill-trained or partially trained, irresponsible mechanic does not recognize this obligation to his trade or to his union.

Unions and management will have to make a study to learn where these workers get their skills and what proportion is coming in through apprenticeship and what proportion is coming in through other means.

These estimates point up the hard fact that, although we have made progress in our training programs, they still fall far short of replenishing even the normal annual losses. Remember, too, that we have been referring to replacements only.

This would assume no growth in our skilled labor force while, as a matter of fact, our skilled labor force is growing at a faster rate than our population, and more rapidly than the growth of our total labor force. This serves to intensify the problem.

We are consuming our skilled work force much faster than we are replenishing it with properly trained journeymen, and we are not supplying the additional skilled workers needed to meet the growth needs of our skilled work force. The solution of this prob-



These young men are learning their trades through apprenticeship. Mr. Brownlow says that unions and employers should make a study to learn where workers got their skills, because not all of them are coming in through the apprenticeship system.



noticeable at their inception, but then grew so as to alter previous methods and practices completely.

Labor has felt the effects of each one of these changes—with the growth of new industries, the displacement of old, the need for new skills and training.

These are all a part of our forward march toward achieving a better life for all the people.

The latest industrial giant which we have discovered has a potential for growth and development which staggers our imagination. This new revolutionary development is atomic energy.

While it is yet impossible to see the full impact and effect which this tremendous new source of energy will have not only upon our nation but on all mankind, we can see that, from its initial use as a war weapon, this fantastic power is now reaching out into all phases of our economic and industrial life.

Nuclear research has been moving rapidly forward. We are increasing our theoretical knowledge in this field and removing the present limitations on the practical application of our nuclear knowledge.

As we enter the dawning atomic era, we must recognize that research, engineering and craft skills are essential to our survival and progress. Deputy Director Louis H. Roddis, Jr., of the Division of Reactor Development of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, recently reported

lem should concern all Americans, for our national strength lies in our skills and training.

We are living in a period of rapid change. The strength of a nation can no longer be measured by the size of its armed forces and the numbers of its warships and military planes. The ability of a nation to take quick and full advantage of technological progress through an adequate number of highly trained specialists and fully trained skilled mechanics has become the deciding factor in measuring its power potential. Directly related to this is its ability adequately to train more.

Our triumph in World War II was due in no small measure to our highly trained work force. When we entered the war we had little else than our

know-how—our skills in science, engineering and mechanics to couple with our devotion to the principles of human dignity and freedom which we hold so dear.

The greatest single investment that we as a people have is in our skills and know-how. It is imperative that we guard this investment carefully.

Not only is it essential that we produce adequately trained, skilled replacements for our work force in sufficient quantities to meet replacement needs, but we must also meet the growing need for additional skills which are required adequately to meet our nation's industrial growth.

The history of America is replete with revolutionary changes in its economic and industrial life. Many of these changes have been almost un-

that in 1947 there were probably not over fifty persons working on the problems of atomic power in our entire country. In 1955 he indicated that there were probably somewhere in excess of 5,000 scientists and engineers working on atomic problems, about 400 having received formal training in the atomic energy field and over 4,000 having been brought into this field through the processes of retraining on the job.

It is significant to note that scientists in atomic energy today total only a small fraction of one per cent of all the scientists in the country and even less than one per cent of the scientists working in research and development fields. The chemical industry has over ten times and the electrical industry over twenty times as many scientists and engineers as are presently working in the atomic field.

If we are to maintain our initial leadership in the world of atomic development, we must take immediate action toward meeting our present shortages of research scientists and engineers and in increasing the number of highly trained specialists and fully skilled mechanics who each year enter our work force.

While all of us in the labor movement well realize that there is no short-cut to the development of true skills, many of our citizens are not aware of this basic fact.

We still have far too many industrial establishments which do not recognize that their consumption of our skilled manpower places upon them a vital national obligation to participate actively in establishing genuine apprenticeship programs and thus help to insure a continued adequate supply of truly skilled workers.

In addition to the industrial establishment which does not carry on adequate training programs, we have the industry which very frequently pirates the trained mechanics from those companies which, at great expense and effort, have entered into apprenticeship systems in cooperation with their employe unions.

The day is long since past when management can close its eyes to its responsibilities to replace the skills which it consumes, yes, and its responsibility to do more than that, to plan to play its part in meeting the constantly growing needs for truly skilled journeymen.

It is heartening to note that recent

Bureau of Apprenticeship figures show an increase of more than 6,000 apprentices registered on July 1 of this year over the total registered on July 1, 1954. Registrations on July 1 of this year stood at 162,690. We are advised that this increase is mainly due to more registrations as completions and quits have been about normal.

The active participation of both labor and management is vitally important to truly successful apprenticeship programs.

The Bureau of Apprenticeship collected statistical evidence on separations and completions of apprenticeship over a four-year period. The figures show that where labor and management had jointly established apprenticeship systems, the percentage of completions of the apprentices was significantly higher than it was in the unilateral or non-joint systems. (Fifty-six per cent completed in the joint systems and only 40 per cent in the non-joint.)

We must never lose sight of the fact that apprenticeship is a labor-management program. The federal law on this subject is Public Law 308 of the Seventy-fifth Congress. The act was approved on August 16, 1937.

This law authorizes and directs the Secretary of Labor to "formulate and promote the furtherance of labor standards necessary to safeguard the welfare of apprentices, to extend the application of such standards by encouraging the inclusion thereof in contracts of apprenticeship, to bring together employers and labor for the formulation of programs of apprenticeship, to cooperate with state agencies engaged in the formulation and promotion of standards of apprenticeship * * *"

The Federal Committee, at its meeting in April, and after consultation with the Conference of State Apprenticeship Agencies, approved a listing of the Fundamentals of Apprenticeship. This provides that an effective apprenticeship program, as recommended by the Federal Committee and the cooperating state apprenticeship agencies, should contain provisions for each of the following eight fundamentals:

(1) The starting age of an apprentice to be not less than 16.

(2) A schedule of work processes in which an apprentice is to be given training and experience on the job.

(3) Organized instruction designed

to provide the apprentice with knowledge in technical subjects related to his trade. (A minimum of 144 hours per year of such instruction is normally considered necessary.)

(4) A progressively increasing schedule of wages.

(5) Proper supervision of on-the-job training with adequate facilities to train apprentices.

(6) Periodic evaluation of the apprentice's progress, both in job performance and related instruction, and the maintenance of appropriate records.

(7) Employe-employer cooperation.

(8) Recognition for successful completions.

The question is often asked, "How does vocational education fit into apprenticeship programs?"

It should first be recognized that basically there is no conflict between the recognized responsibilities of trade and industrial education and apprentice training services, insofar as they relate to the training of apprentices.

The responsibility for development of sound, workable apprenticeship programs is squarely that of labor and management. Vocational education institutions in the community may be consulted with and utilized in making certain that the apprentice will receive the related technical and supplemental off-the-job instruction which is needed to develop fully his skills, ability and knowledge of his craft.

It has long been the stated policy of the American Federation of Labor that vocational education should be controlled and directed by the public, not by private institutions or corporations.

Apprenticeship training programs, on the other hand, should be jointly developed and administered by management and labor, with the government formulating and promoting standards and assisting in bringing together labor and management to formulate their apprenticeship programs.

We must take positive steps to tap and develop all our reserves of native intelligence and know-how in order to hold our leadership in the dawning atomic age.

The challenge is ours. Let us work together — management, labor, government and educators — cooperatively and voluntarily to meet this challenge.



Dave Beck, president of the Teamsters, was chairman at impressive ceremonies. Shown behind him is a small part of the new building. He termed the structure 'a tribute to American workers' and pledged his union never to bar any worker because of race, color or creed.

Teamsters' Beautiful Building Is Dedicated in Washington

George Meany and Dave Beck look on as laying of the cornerstone is done by John F. English, Teamsters' secretary.



THE WHITE MARBLE new headquarters building of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the nation's capital was dedicated on November 4. The dedicatory address was delivered by George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor.

President Dave Beck of the Teamsters presided over the impressive ceremonies. John F. English, the union's secretary-treasurer, wielded the trowel as the cornerstone was laid in place.

On the evening of November 4, at Constitution Hall, Hollywood stars entertained members of the union and their guests. The beautiful, ultra-modern four-story building overlooks the Capitol and the Senate Office Building.

Mr. Meany, in his address, said: "This edifice is in reality a monument to the vision, the drive and the sacrifice of men like Dan Tobin and his early associates who started with

nothing but an ideal and a practical purpose and succeeded in building the Teamsters' Union into the biggest single union organization in the nation.

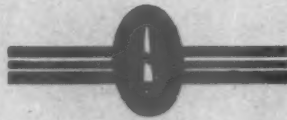
"It is likewise a monument to President Dave Beck and his associate officers who have made their important contribution to the building of this union in later years.

"In another sense, this great structure is built not only upon past achievement but on confidence in future progress. In size and in architectural design, it has the forward look that inspires our whole trade union movement today."

President Meany referred briefly to the coming merger. He said:

"We must have an instrumentality strong enough to maintain the standards of workers of this country, to protect them from major hazards by means of effective social insurance and, above all, to safeguard their basic freedoms."

MILITARY DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON



THE UNITED STATES ARMY, REPRESENTED BY THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON, TODAY PROUDLY SALUTES A PARTNER OF THE DEFENSE TEAM—THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. SINCE ITS FORMATION IN 1861, THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HAS CONSIDERED THAT A STRONG, CONFIDENT, PATRIOTIC LABOR FORCE, ENDOWED WITH FAITH AND MORALITY, WILL FOREVER KEEP AMERICA SECURE AND PROSPEROUS. OVER THE TWO AND ONE HALF DECADES AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR TRAINS AND CHAPTAINS HAVE UNDERSTOOD THAT CONCEPT BY THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE HIGHEST PRODUCTION LEVEL IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY. TODAY, THIS UNPARALLELED LEVEL OF PRODUCTION HAS STOCKED OUR MILITARY ARSENAL WITH MIND-BLOWING GUNS, TANKS, PLANES AND SHIPS. THE UNITED STATES ARMY FEELS THAT THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, IN THEIR CONSTANT VIGILANCE TO SUPPORT OUR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO OPPOSE THE INSIDIOUS SPREAD OF COMMUNISM AND OTHER TOTALITARIAN IDEOLOGIES. THE UNITED STATES ARMY IS HONORED TO SALUTE THIS GREAT ORGANIZATION WHICH IS CONTRIBUTING SO MUCH TO PROTECTING THOSE IDEALS WE CHERISH—THE FREEDOM AND DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL, THE CONTINUATION OF THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING, AND THE FURTHERANCE OF WORLD PEACE.



John H. Stokes, Jr.
JOHN H. STOKES, JR.
MAJOR GENERAL, USA
COMMANDING

13 November 1955

This citation saluted the American Federation of Labor and its members.

The Army Honors the A. F. of L.

President Meany stood beside General Stokes as famed regiment paraded.



THE UNITED STATES ARMY paid tribute last month to the American Federation of Labor and to the millions of patriotic working people who make up its membership. Impressive ceremonies were held at Fort Myer, Virginia. The program included a thirteen-gun salute and a review of the renowned 3rd ("Old Guard") Infantry Regiment by George Meany, A. F. of L. president, and his host, Major General John H. Stokes, Jr., the commander of the Military District of Washington. The men and women of the A. F. of L. were additionally honored when the United States Army Band played "The American Federation of Labor March."

Ceremonial elements for the retreat review included 1,000 men of the 3rd Infantry Regiment led by Colonel Fielder P. Greer, commander. The Army Band was directed by Captain Herbert W. Hoyer.

The "Old Guard" Regiment is the oldest regiment in the American Army. It acts as personal escort to Presidents. Members of the regiment's "A" Company comprise the sentinel detail which maintains the eternal vigil at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Arlington Cemetery.

A special exhibit of military equipment from Fort Lee fringed the parade grounds at Fort Myer. The equipment was inspected by Mr. Meany and General Stokes and also by union members invited to attend the special ceremonies.

THE HIGHLIGHT of the Fort Myer ceremonies was the reading of a special citation saluting the American Federation of Labor for its vital contributions to the security as well as the prosperity of our country. The citation read as follows:

"The United States Army, represented by the Military District of Washington, today proudly salutes a partner of the defense team—the American Federation of Labor. Since its formation in 1881, the American Federation of Labor has contended that a strong, confident, patriotic labor force, imbued with faith and morality, will forever keep America secure and prosperous. Over ten and one half million American Federation of Labor trade and craftsmen have underscored that concept by their contribution to the highest production level in our nation's history. Today, this unparalleled level of production has stocked our military arsenal with needed guns, tanks, planes and ships. The U.S. Army feels that the American Federation of Labor, in their constant vigilance to safeguard our way of life, is indeed a strong partner. We are well aware of their successful national and international efforts to oppose the insidious spread of communism and other totalitarian ideologies. The United States Army is honored to salute this great organization which is contributing so much to protecting those ideals we cherish—the freedom and dignity of the individual, the continuation of the American standard of living, and the furtherance of world peace."

The Army's oldest regiment took part in the ceremonies honoring labor.



What Shall We Do About America's School Problems?

By CARL J. MEGEL

President, American Federation of Teachers

WHATEVER the outcome of the White House Conference on Education, the task of rehabilitating our public schools will remain a Herculean one. Should the conference recommend federal aid for education, implementation must await Congressional action — probably a long and tedious procedure. Should the conference ignore the issue or come out against federal aid, American education will sink further into the mire of confusion and inadequate financing.

A recapitulation of the problems of the schools would seem to be in order at this time. Manifestly these problems are important to the members of the labor movement and to enlightened citizens everywhere. The problems are important because the schools are the bedrock foundations of the American way of life.

The first problem is the classroom problem. We need to build a minimum of 350,000 new classrooms, to replace obsolete ones and correct classroom shortages that reflect themselves in forty to fifty students to a class, as well as schools being held in basements, churches, barns, vacant houses and buildings that are unsanitary and fire hazards.

The schools must be equipped with modern, up-to-date books and teaching aids. Classrooms which are adequately housed but where the only teaching aids are outdated books, a blackboard, a ruler and a few pieces of chalk must be given additional equipment.

Certainly the shortage of qualified teachers demands correction. At this time one-third of America's teachers have less than a college degree. Some teachers have only high school diplomas. Such nostrums as undertaken by the Philadelphia school board, to obtain enough teachers by reducing employment requirements



MR. MEGEL

to two years of college, must be relegated to the realm of educational quackery. Our nation can get qualified teachers, in the numbers needed, by taking seven major steps which fall within the pattern of good labor unionism. These steps are:

(1) A salary starting at \$5000 and reaching \$9000 in eight years. The pay of teachers must be made more nearly equal to the earnings of members of other professions and of trades requiring comparable education and training. A recent conference in Wisconsin found that the salaries of college-trained professional workers are as follows: teachers, \$3725; dentists, \$7820; lawyers, \$8730; and doctors, \$13,432.

(2) Uniform state tenure laws. Teachers must be made secure in their jobs. They must be protected against discharge except for proven cause, at a hearing, after they have served a reasonable probation. Seventy-five per cent of the teachers of the United States are now employed from year to year, and in many cases under

"contracts" that amount to little more than month-to-month, week-to-week or day-to-day arrangements.

(3) Elimination of excessive class interruptions and of the use of students as teachers' substitutes. In addition to the impediment of badly overcrowded classes, teachers are now subject to being pulled out of class at the whim of the principal. Because of the shortage of teachers, older students are often required to take over classes—as little more than babysitters.

(4) Uninterrupted lunch periods for teachers. Today many teachers are called upon to give up lunch for such things as hall or lunchroom duty, for conferences with the principal or to talk to problem students.

(5) Better teacher retirement pensions, supplemented by social security where feasible. Present retirement pay for teachers in most areas having it is pitifully small, and there is no uniformity between states or school districts.

(6) Adequate accumulative sick-leave pay, and hospitalization and medical insurance paid for from school funds. Only a small fraction of teachers now has these benefits, and they are not adequate in almost every instance.

(7) Recognition of the right of teachers to organize and to negotiate and bargain collectively through their own union. These rights have been won in only a minority of localities.

THESE seven steps advocated by the American Federation of Teachers are reasonable. Everything we are asking seems elementary and obvious. That these proposals represent unfinished business in American teacher unionism may startle the millions of members of other unions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations

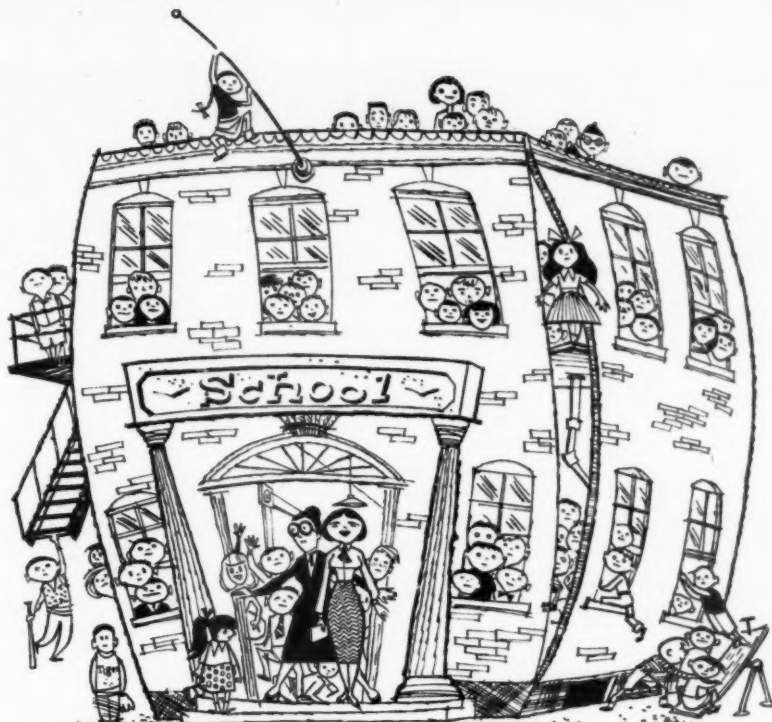
—unions that have won and enforced such rights and procedures.

The American Federation of Teachers has made gains in many areas. Such gains by our locals have been achieved with the help of organized labor as a whole. Progress has come for the teachers when the representatives of A. F. of L. central labor unions and our C.I.O. friends have sat with the teachers and joined them in facing reluctant school boards across the table.

Teachers who are themselves union members are not unmindful of the great part of organized labor in the establishment and continuance of public education. Union teachers are aware of their own obligation to prevent the enemies of labor from making unfair, one-sided presentations against trade unionism in the classrooms of the nation.

Because of union teachers, young America knows more about the reactionary Taft-Hartley Act, the infamous state "right to work" laws and such a measure as the Catlin Law in Wisconsin. Union teachers are better informed and are better teachers because of their union affiliations.

The trade union movement has become the instrument giving strength



Our children need at least 350,000 new classrooms—right now

to the profession which molds America's destiny. On their side, the teachers have come to know organized labor as the bulwark of America. Shoulder to shoulder, the labor move-

ment of this country and the men and women of the teaching profession will continue to fight—vigorously, unwaveringly—for better schools for all the children of America.

THE TIME IS NOW

By JOSEPH TUVIM

*Secretary-Treasurer, Local 142,
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*

TO THE organized worker, the trade union is a way of life.

The union gives him an instrument for obtaining social gains, economic welfare, higher wages, shorter hours and fringe benefits. The organized worker uses his union as a vehicle to express his desires as an individual and in action through a collective group.

Today our way of life is being challenged by the most evil force in human history. This challenge serves as a reminder to many trade unionists of the lofty ideals of our movement. The union label, union shop card and union working button are the symbols of the gains made by organized labor.

The employer who agrees to high standards through collective bar-

gaining deserves consideration. His use of the union label on the goods he offers for sale is an indication that they were produced under desirable working conditions.

The union label signifies that the highest type of unity and fraternity exists among organized workers of different trades and callings. It is a reminder to trade unionists that products which do not bear the proper label are not deserving of purchase. The union label is a challenge in itself. The demand for products with the union label, by trade unionists, carries along with it an inner personal satisfaction. When a worker buys products of organized trades other than the one in which he himself is employed, it is an indication that he agrees in the programs of

human security and human dignity.

For years the trade union movement, through the Union Label and Service Trades Department, has campaigned to popularize the union label, shop card and buttons. During World War II there was a relaxation in the use of the union label. Now is the time for the trade union movement to renew its efforts and its campaign for the union label.

We must create an organized program of education to spread knowledge of the aims and purposes of the union label, shop card and button. Now is the time to establish women's auxiliaries. Now is the time to provide more advertising matter relating to the union label. Now is the time to coordinate our label work and campaigns.



With new buildings in background, David Dubinsky delivers his address. At left is the slum which formerly occupied site of Cooperative Village.



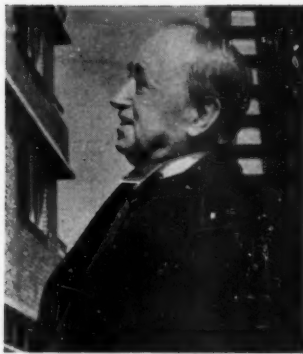
I.L.G.W.U. Dedicates Its Cooperative Village on New York's East Side

ON A SLUM-CLEARED PORTION OF THE EAST SIDE of New York City, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union dedicated its Cooperative Village on October 22 in the presence of thousands. Notables in the fields of labor, government, community affairs and cooperatives acclaimed the four magnificent, towering structures as an outstanding achievement of free labor and a great American trade union. On October 24 the first group of tenant-owners of the middle-income housing development began to move into their new homes.

The president of the American Federation of Labor spoke at



Tested by George Meany, the plumbing was found to be in good working order.



Structures impressed Matt Woll, union's friend for half a century.



One of the Village families who will now have a chance to live in decency.

the dedication ceremonies. This is what George Meany told the great assemblage:

"As a native New Yorker, I am happy to see this transformation of the East Side. I remember what this neighborhood used to be. Out of its ferment came liberal, progressive ideas. But there were also things here in which the people of this city could take no pride. The expression 'the Lower East Side' came to be a kind of figure of speech for dark alleys, poorly ventilated, unsanitary tenements, places where disease was quite rampant.

"But today, looking upon this great development built through the cooperation of a great union and various governmental authorities, we can be proud that the East Side from which so many of us came is turning into a place where people can live their lives in decency and with some of

God's fresh air and sunlight as part of their daily reward.

"I look on these buildings and think of the great struggles of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in this city—its fight for the right to have a union, to talk collectively to the employer about conditions of life and work, to rid the industry of the miserable conditions of employment that gave rise to the term 'sweatshop.' I see in these buildings another step forward on the road of progress of a great American trade union.

"We cannot look at this achievement, or think of this union, without thinking also of the dynamic leader who has made such significant contributions to the workers of the garment industry, the people of the city of New York, to workers all over the world.

"We think of David Dubinsky, the forward-looking leadership he has given the I.L.G.W.U., the contributions he has made to the American trade union movement and the cause of free labor everywhere.

"These buildings indicate the place of the American trade union movement in the life of the community—the contributions it can make, should make and will make to the welfare of the great mass of people, going beyond wages and hours to a concern with better homes, better schools and better living conditions generally.

"These buildings represent what free labor can accomplish. They point to the way in which, by making democracy work even better than before, we can meet the challenge of those who would destroy our free way of life."



Shown here are some of the murals that will be placed in the Gompers Room of I.L.O.'s Geneva headquarters building.

I.L.O. Gompers Room Murals Are Viewed

MURALS for the Samuel Gompers Room at Geneva headquarters of the I.L.O. were exhibited recently in New York to guests of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. Painted by Dean Cornwell, the

murals show American workers doing their jobs in a variety of industries. The paintings will be part of the decorating of the I.L.O.'s Gompers Room—a gift from the A. F. of L. Dedication is tentatively set for next June.

Murals were painted by Dean Cornwell, famous U.S. artist of our day.



Will Automation Wipe Out Your Job?

*If the workers of the nation are to share in the fruits,
they will have to do it through strong, democratic unions*

By O. WILLIAM BLAIER

*Second General Vice-President,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners*

A FAVORITE song of embattled union members a few generations ago visualized "pie in the sky bye and bye." Unionists may have stopped singing that classic long ago, but the song is not dead. Business magazines and industrialists have taken over the words if not the melody.

Pie in the sky has become a favorite theme of business writers and speakers. Whipped cream has been added to the pie. All this pie *à la mode* is to be ours when business finally achieves its push-button fairyland through automation. We are all going to work less, earn more, play harder, worry less and roll in luxuries when automation hits its ultimate stride. The era of two chickens in every pot and two cars in every garage is just around the corner.

Oddly enough, there is more truth than fantasy in all these rosy dreams. Automation can bring standards of living far beyond anything we have seen to date—if its fruits are equitably distributed. But that phrase—"if its fruits are equitably distributed"—is the key to whether automation is going to be a blessing or a curse for ordinary Americans.

One does not need to be an economist to appreciate that high productivity and high living standards go hand in hand. There cannot be high living standards without high productivity. No kind of economic system could do much for China or Abyssinia today. All profits could be eliminated overnight and the workers would still have a poor standard of living simply because production per man is low. Only when they get their productivity up will they have any real chance of bettering their conditions.

On the other hand, our steady increase in living standards has been possible because we have been able to turn out more and more goods.



MR. BLAIER

The total amount of goods produced year by year in relation to the number of people working has climbed steadily. Through our unions we have been able to win for ourselves an ever-increasing share of that productivity.

Now automation is destined to step up the productive pace. This is bound to bring about "pie in the sky," the voices of big business proclaim. But those of us who have

lived through the past twenty-five or thirty years answer, "Maybe." We have seen hunger in the midst of plenty and idleness in a sea of unfilled wants. It could happen again if the ability to consume does not keep up with the capacity to produce.

Spreading the fruits of automation is not going to be nearly so easy or so automatic as installing robot machines.

And unless the fruits are fairly distributed, trouble may ensue.

Automation is not something that is coming in the future. It already has a foot in the door in many industries. Take coal for example. In the last few years alone, productivity per man-day has gone up two tons. In other words, the average coal miner today produces two tons per day more coal than he did three or four years ago.

Has this brought luxury and pie in the sky to coal miners? Several hundred thousand of them, in the coal fields of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, are living on government handouts of surplus foods. They have not worked in months. Their unemployment insurance benefits are depleted, and all they have to go on is the two pounds of butter, two pounds of cheese, two pounds of



Automation isn't something far in the future. Robot machines are here today.

dried milk, two pounds of shortening and four pounds of beans and rice that are being doled out to them each month from government surplus supplies. I doubt if this can be classed as "pie in the sky" even by big business propagandists.

On the other hand, profits of the coal industry have never been better. Coal shares on the stock exchanges have never been healthier.

And those miners who have jobs have benefited too. Recently the Mine Workers' Union negotiated \$2 per day wage increase. But for all this, several hundred thousand coal miners are eking out an existence on government doles of surplus food.

Is the reader tempted to say, "Oh, well, that's too bad for the unemployed coal miners. But what has it got to do with me?" Then consider for a second what the depression in coal areas means to the rest of the country. Are the coal areas buying their quotas of cars and stoves and refrigerators? Are they contributing to the demand for building materials and furniture? Are they paying their share of taxes? The answers are obvious.

The mechanization which hit the coal industry with such a solid impact is catching up with other industries. Statistics show that even the building trades worker is getting a smaller share of the construction dollar than in 1952 and 1953.

So where do we go from here?

Not being an economist or a financial expert, I can't advance a lot of fancy theories or economic projections. But I do have one firm conviction; namely, that the workers of the nation, if they are to share in the fruits of automation, will have to do it through strong, democratic unions.

We have already traveled more than a little way along the path of automation. In 1933 our total output of goods and services amounted to less than \$45 billion for the year. This year our output will hit close to \$400 billion. How much of this increase can be credited to automation I am in no position to say. However, it must be very substantial.

In 1933 it would have been easy for anyone to predict pie in the sky when our economy hit the \$400 billion mark. Well, we have reached that mark, but millions of people are still a long way from real prosperity. Slums still blight large areas of our

major cities. Overcrowded classrooms house millions of our children. Many highways and streets are in poor condition and all but impassable. Decent medical care is still out of the reach of many citizens. Adequate old-age pensions are the exception rather than the rule. The bait of low wages and docile labor is still luring many industries to tax-free pastures.

THE boys with the adding machines tell us that a national annual output of \$600 billion is only a few years off. Well and good. I hope so. But if that increased output is going to be translated into higher living standards, more leisure time, etc., for workers, it will have to be done by strong, democratic unions. It will be done by negotiating pay increases to make possible higher consumption and shorter hours to spread employment and provide more leisure. It will be done by day-to-day wrestling with changing conditions and changing times.

The problems of automation are not problems which will catch up with us at some indefinite future date.

They are problems we are faced with here and now. When we put into effect a health and welfare plan or send a good man to Congress or back a forward-looking piece of legislation, we are providing an answer to automation.

It is on our shoulders that the burdens of automation fall. Installing a machine which replaces manpower and reduces payroll costs is no problem for industrialists. It is the thing they do best. But seeing to it that the men who stay on the machine get a fair share of the fruits of their labor and the displaced men get a chance to use their talents elsewhere is a nut we of the trade union movement must crack.

To me it all adds up to one thing. Under automation American workers are going to be more dependent on their unions than they ever have been. The moral is obvious, too. All of us in labor unions have a moral obligation to build up and strengthen and expand our movement as rapidly and as broadly as possible.

In no other way can we be sure that automation will be a benefit and not a Frankenstein.

Office Workers Have Been Hit



MR. COUGHLIN

AUTOMATION in American offices will confer long-term benefits, but its immediate effect will be to displace substantial numbers of workers. This statement was made by Howard Coughlin, president of the Office Employees International Union, in testimony before a Congressional committee trying to determine

what effects automation will have on the nation's economy.

Confining his testimony to automation in the office, Mr. Coughlin cited a number of specific cases where single electronic machines have displaced scores of office workers. He urged employers to share with labor the gains in productivity resulting from automation. The introduction of automation in offices will cause "serious problems," he said.

"Many individuals who have spent their lives acquiring certain skills and have come to believe implicitly in their own indispensability are in for a rude shock," the Office Employees' president declared. "They will see machines do in seconds work that takes them days and weeks to accomplish. They will see machines replace the jobs that they and their co-workers have come to feel are their permanent niches in the office world."

"A lot of people will lose their jobs. A lot of individuals will be forced to acquire new skills."

MASS TRANSPORTATION



WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

By A. L. SPRADLING

*President, Amalgamated Association of
Street and Electric Railway Employees*

WE ARE a nation on wheels—a people constantly on the move. Transportation plays a vital part in our lives—directly in the convenience, pleasure or necessity of getting from one place to another—and indirectly but just as vitally in its economic effect upon us.

There has been a technological revolution in transportation during the last three decades. It has changed the physical and economic face of our nation. We have seen commercial aviation grow from a luxury for the daring few to an everyday routine operation carrying millions.

And the automobile! Today it is generally conceded that the sale of automobiles goes a long way toward deciding our economic health. When you stop to realize that more than one tenth of every dollar spent by consumers the first half of this year went for the purchase and upkeep of automobiles, that's not hard to believe. Especially is it convincing when we recall that we spend only eight cents of each dollar for clothing and shoes. In other words, we pay more to own and drive our autos than we do to cover our bodies.

That ten cents of the dollar is far from all we spend on autos. Think of the tax money that goes for building and maintaining roads and facilities, not only for those who travel

by auto, but for those who fly through the air.

The tremendous impact of the automobile on the social life and economy of the people has had its effect on our organization and its members, all of whom are employed in the mass transportation and highway bus industries of the United States and Canada. Not only has the automobile changed the riding habits of people who regularly used our services; it has added to the difficulties of operation directly by the congestion of private vehicles on the city streets and the highways.

Because of this, mass transportation and intercity bus service went through one of the most amazing technological changes that America has experienced in any industry in the last two decades. In that time we have seen the disappearance of the electric interurban train; we have seen the elimination of two-man-operated streetcars practically everywhere and the substitution of one-man operation. Streetcars, in fact, are to be found today in only a few of our largest cities. Rails have given way to rubber as the motorbus has taken over.

Our membership has demonstrated a remarkable resiliency and adaptability to absorb this shock and meet and solve the vast and difficult problems this change has imposed upon



MR. SPRADLING

us. Although we are operating as many miles as ever before, we are doing it with fewer men. However, we were prepared for the blow before it fell and with our bargaining strength have been successful in all instances in overcoming what might have been disastrous economic problems.

The attempts of the industry to reduce the manpower required to operate and maintain the services were met by us with demands to shorten the hours of labor without loss of pay. By and large we achieved this result.

On a large number of the city transit properties we now have agreements providing for a 40-hour week

with two days off and many of our over-the-road drivers and other employees benefit from similar provisions. This, indeed, is a far cry from the old days at the beginning of the century when streetcar men worked twelve to eighteen hours a day, seven days a week, and often slept in the car barns the few short hours of "rest" between runs.

Equally important with the reduction in the hours of work was the necessity to obtain adequate recuperation from the strain placed upon our members by the harassing duties of operating large vehicles filled with human beings through the perilous maze of present-day traffic. To accomplish this we not only pressed for and obtained adequate rest periods on the job, but pioneered in the established of paid vacations for hourly-paid employees. At present three-week vacations are the rule rather than the exception in our industry. During the last year or so a substantial number of our members in scores of cities large and small have won a fourth week of vacation after service of twenty and twenty-five years.

We hear and read much nowadays about the "guaranteed annual wage."

That is no new story to us. Throughout the life of our union we have fought for and achieved continuity of employment for our members. Most of our members now have a daily guarantee of eight hours' pay even if they do not actually operate a vehicle during the entire work day. We also have provided for daily and weekly guarantees for those of our members who do not have regular full-time assignments, or "runs," but must be available for work if needed.

We have done away with the necessity for layoffs in this industry to a great extent. For instance, in one of our most recent agreements covering a large metropolitan property, we

obtained a formal guarantee that there would be no layoff of any employee during the entire two-year contract period.

The record of the Amalgamated Association in achieving pension and disability agreements is outstanding in the labor movement. The majority are covered by plans that are trustee, jointly administered and soundly financed so that the benefits of our members who are retired or disabled are completely safeguarded.

Many of our agreements provide for minimum pensions of \$75 per month and for graded benefits varying from 1 to 1.5 per cent of earnings for each year of service. These,

Transportation has changed enormously in the past forty years as a result of the very widespread use of automobiles.



Traffic had a different look to it in 1893. This picture shows State Street in Chicago.



of course, are independent of and in addition to social security. That was done to avoid a situation found on other plans where any increase in social security payments would result in a cut in the payments to the employee under the collectively bargained pension plan.

The Amalgamated Association was set up as an industrial union back in 1892 when it was organized with the help of Samuel Gompers, who brought us together at Indianapolis. Among the men at that first meeting was William D. Mahon, a streetcar man from Columbus, Ohio. Bill Mahon was elected president at the next convention, in 1893, and went on to become one of the most dynamic and progressive leaders in the trade union movement. An admirer, friend and confidant of Gompers, he served for many years as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Space, unfortunately, does not permit me here to give even the merest account of the splendid service Bill Mahon rendered the working people of this continent over the fifty-two years he fought the most powerful forces of reaction. As veterans of our movement have truly said, "There'll never be another Bill Mahon."

We have continued as an industrial organization and we've come a long way since the days of the horse cars, meeting the technological and eco-

nomie changes aggressively but with foresight and as little disruption to the convenience of the public as possible. We do feel an obligation to our fellow workers, not only because they depend on us more than does any other group for the service we render, but also because we depend on them for support in the attainment of our trade union objectives.

We've been able to do that largely because of our adherence to and insistence on the arbitration of all labor disputes with our employing companies. The principle of voluntary arbitration, established by the late Bill Mahon, is the cornerstone and basic policy of our union. We always favor arbitration as against strikes whenever the choice exists.

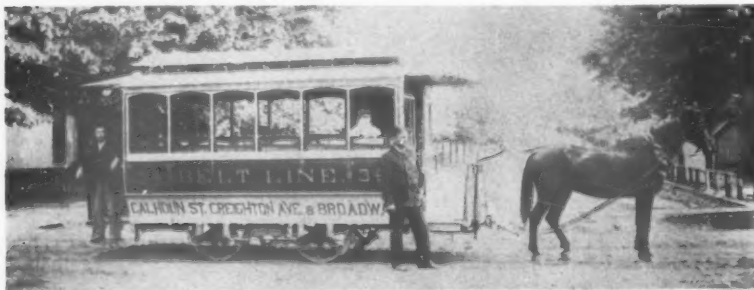
President Mahon many years ago said:

"Arbitration is a method which appeals to the support of the people. A cause that will not stand fair-minded arbitration is not generally a good one. The Amalgamated law is an expression of fairness."

It has always been and is now the policy followed by myself and the other officers to require our local divisions to offer to arbitrate all disputes and differences where negotiations fail; to arbitrate freely and

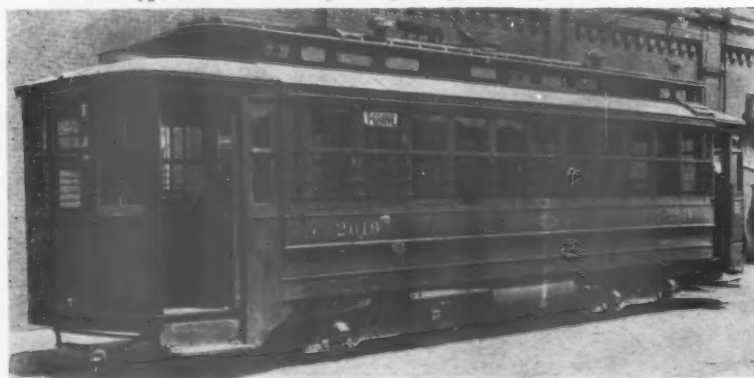


William D. Mahon ably led the union for many years. He was a member of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.



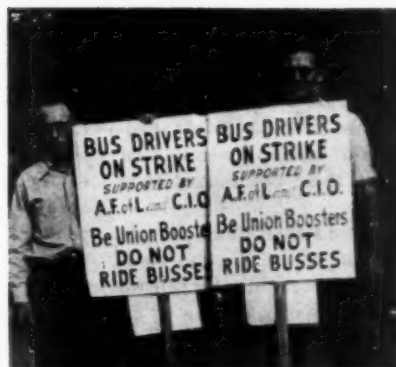
Horse cars have vanished, but many older Americans remember them.

This type of streetcar transported passengers during World War I.





**The Amalgamated is democratic to the core.
Issues are settled by vote of the members.**



**Long before the big merger of labor,
union had backing of C.I.O. members
when strike occurred in Warren, Ohio.**

fairly without any strings attached. We went through many years of long and difficult struggles—and strikes—before we finally persuaded most of our managements that arbitration was the sensible, honorable and decent way to settle our differences when we cannot work them out at the bargaining table.

Today we are facing resistance by some employing interests in this industry and for a variety of reasons, it seems. No longer able to destroy us by the methods used in the old days—strikebreakers and strong-arm stuff—some of the people who have come into the transit business of late have provoked strikes to achieve other ends.

One large holding company, for instance, has become a transit colossus in the last decade, getting control of properties from coast to coast. They are opposed to arbitration, and strikes have occurred repeatedly in many of these cities as a result. They have provoked some strikes in order to force the purchase of their properties upon the cities involved at huge profits. One strike—in Terre Haute, Indiana—lasted seven months. It ended only when the outfit was run out of town and new owners entered into an acceptable agreement with us.

The Capital Transit strike in Washington, D.C., not long ago, still may be fresh in the minds of readers who learned about the manipulations of the promoters who picked up that property for peanuts and milked it plenty, using the money to gain con-

trol of several other large corporations. There is little doubt that the strike was provoked by these “promoters” in order to milk the people of Washington still more. While we were the unfortunate pawns in this game of high finance, the principles for which this union stands have been advanced by a better understanding of them by the public in Washington and by the Congress of the United States.

Our organization has been harassed through the years by repressive legislation. We have been forced to fight our way through the legal mazes right up to the United States Supreme Court. In fact, it was our union that fought and established the constitutionality of the Wagner Act. The Supreme Court handed down that decision on April 12, 1937, in our

case against the Washington, Virginia and Maryland Coach Company. The justices, in a unanimous decision, declared that no bus, trolley or transport company operating between the states could fire an employee for joining the union. The validity of the Wagner Act was further buttressed by the United States Supreme Court in its decision in our case against the Pennsylvania Greyhound Lines.

Our legal rights on the national level were by no means stabilized permanently by these victories under the Wagner Act. With the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, and particularly with the new type of administration imposed by the more recently appointed National Labor Relations Board members, we find ourselves up against the same problems we faced in the darkest, most reactionary days

**Be the weather foul or fair, the members of this union
must continue their vital work of transporting people.**



before the advent of the New Deal. In addition, quite a number of states have passed the infamous "right to work" laws, and in the case of public utilities the equally infamous state-seizure laws. Our legal rights as free trade unionists are thus being diluted, if not entirely denied, by the maladministration of the Federal Law as well as by these new-fanged state laws.

Some of these state statutes provide for prohibition of strikes and compulsory arbitration; others for seizure of the transit property in case of an actual or threatened strike, and these latter seizure provisions are often combined either with compulsory arbitration or with recommendations to be made by some "public" board. Obviously all of these statutes are utterly destructive of the principle of free collective bargaining and voluntary arbitration.

Wisconsin passed such a statute which provided for compulsory arbitration among other things. Our union attacked it and was successful in 1951 in having it declared unconstitutional after the case was carried all the way to the United States Supreme Court.

Now we're facing another court test of a vicious piece of anti-labor legislation—the King-Thompson Act in Missouri. The members of our St. Louis division employed by the holding company referred to earlier in this article were forced into a strike there. The strike was called off when the governor invoked the King-Thompson law, which ostensibly permits him to seize any public utility and which subjects the union to a fine of \$10,000 for each day it is out on strike after seizure. This law, of course, will be tested in the highest courts, if necessary, by our Association.

As already indicated, we will fight to the utmost the recently announced "change in policy" of the National Labor Relations Board. The Board now refuses to handle situations arising in the local transit industry unless the company involved has annual gross revenues of more than three million dollars. As a result, a large part of our membership is excluded from the protection of the right to organize and bargain collectively, which the Board by law is duty-bound to enforce. We have taken steps to obtain a reversal of this arbitrary

change of policy of the Board, both legislatively and in the courts.

Some management spokesmen in our industry profess to take a dim view of its future. Others refer to it as "sick" or "dying." This is sheer poppycock. After all, mass transportation is taking in well over fifteen hundred million dollars a year—one of the largest "takes" in American industry. We know that with our expanding population and a greater interest on the part of our communities in the vitality as well as the necessity for mass transportation, we can and will improve our position as workers and responsible members of our communities.

Perhaps too many of our management people are thinking negatively and in jagged, jigsaw patterns—following outmoded and time-worn practices. Transit is indispensable, and

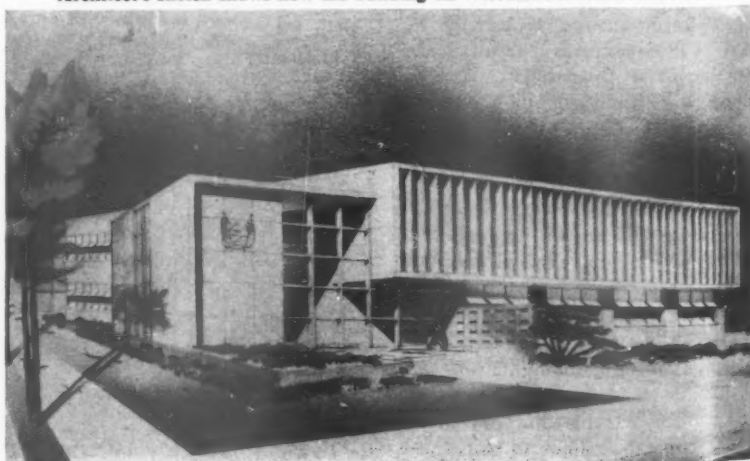
the very life of the metropolis depends on it. The property values of our big office buildings and our great department stores in the centers of our cities all depend on it. The amount of taxes that our communities can collect to maintain and improve our other essential public services, police, fire, sanitation, schools—to name only some—depend on the wealth and value and income of the land and buildings in our cities.

It is plain nonsense to say that our growing cities cannot afford better and more efficient public transportation, and first-class public transportation cannot be had with second-class wages and conditions any more than second-class equipment and second-class highways. Indeed, our growing communities cannot afford anything less than such first-class public transportation.



President Spradling and George Meany discussed mass transportation problems during a recess at A. F. of L. convention in Los Angeles last year.

The Amalgamated Association plans to move headquarters to Washington. Architect's sketch shows how the building on Wisconsin Avenue will look.



TO PROMOTE COOPERATION

By DAVID L. COLE

IS IT possible that labor-management relations can be governed primarily by reason rather than by emotionalism and threat of force? This is the underlying question faced by the International Labor Organization in a new program to which it is now devoting a great deal of attention.

Last spring the I.L.O.'s director-general, David A. Morse, distributed his annual report among all the member states. He reviewed, as usual, the recent trends and developments in world social policy and then developed the major theme he proposed to have discussed by the delegates at the annual International Labor Conference in June.

He suggested as this theme that I.L.O. is now ready "to take a wider view of the problems as a whole and seek to develop activities from the standpoint not only of the protection of rights or the prevention of conflict but also of the *conscious promotion of cooperation*" between industry and labor throughout the world.

In keeping with the customary care exercised by the International Labor Organization when it enters into a new area of activity, Director-General Morse invited me as a consultant to investigate all aspects of this potential I.L.O. program and to offer criticisms and recommendations.

I attended the conference at Geneva in June, had informal discussions with representatives of some twenty-five nations and with all the staff officials at the policy-making level, studied the nature and details of all earlier I.L.O. activities and sought out the reactions of many authorities and experts. On September 22 I rendered my report, which Mr. Morse promptly released to the public at a press conference in Washington.

To understand this program one should know the history and philosophy of the I.L.O. Unfortunately,



MR. COLE

although it is the oldest functioning international agency, it is not as well known or fully appreciated in the United States as in other countries. This is so despite the fact that it has to its credit a number of major social contributions.

The International Labor Organization was set up after World War I, under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, on April 11, 1919.* It was for many years an agency of the League of Nations. It is now one of the specialized agencies of the United Nations. The membership of the I.L.O. includes seventy member states, among which are the United States and the U.S.S.R.

Americans played an important part in advancing the cause of this agency at the conferences leading to the Versailles Treaty and subsequently on the Peace Conference Commission on Labor Legislation appointed to work out its framework.

* For a more thorough discussion of this, see two articles by James T. Shotwell, both entitled "The International Labor Organization," in *The American Federationist* of May, 1926, and *The Annals of The American Academy of Political Science* of March, 1933.

Samuel Gompers served as chairman of the commission.

It is interesting to note that the theory of such an international labor agency was advanced more than 100 years before it came into existence. In 1818, at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, Robert Owen, a social reformer and industrialist, proposed international action limiting the daily hours of work. As he viewed it, essential reforms could not be undertaken in a competitive world market except by international agreement or regulation.

Similar proposals were made in 1838 by the Frenchman Louis Auguste Blanqui and in 1847 by Daniel Le Grand, an Alsatian manufacturer. Blanqui argued:

"Treaties have been concluded between one country and another by which they have bound themselves to kill men. Why should they not be concluded today for the purpose of preserving men's lives and making them happier?"

The first tangible results of these and subsequent efforts were seen in the establishment at the turn of the century of the International Association for Labor Legislation at Basel. The association approved two treaties, one prohibiting the use of poisonous white phosphorous in matches and the other regulating night work of women in industry. Its work on other subjects was interrupted by World War I.

During that conflict there were at least three expressions or proposals favoring international action for the improvement or regulation of working conditions. These were advanced at a labor conference at Leeds in 1916, at Berne in 1917 and again at Berne in 1919. The American Federation of Labor during this period urged international action to guarantee minimum labor conditions. The underlying (Continued on Page 47)

Is It Wise to Reduce Taxes?

By PETER HENLE

REDUCE taxes at election time—this is one of the first principles in the politician's rulebook. And for 1956 there is every indication that Congress plans to follow the rulebook.

But before the individual taxpayer gets ready to spend this election-year present from Uncle Sam, he might do well to ponder a few questions. Are there any risks involved in reducing taxes at this time? If taxes are cut, should this be done by lowering rates, by raising exemptions or in some other way? Should Congress at the same time make other changes in our tax laws?

It cannot be denied that a tax cut is a tempting morsel to dangle before the voter. No other action by Congress can quite equal its ability to win applause at the ballot box.

But if a tax cut has such political appeal, why is it that politicians have not long ago reduced all taxes to zero? The truth is that despite the individual's natural reluctance to pay taxes, Americans generally do realize that the functions of government require some means of support.

Today the federal government is responsible for the most serious undertaking in all history, the defense of the free world against Communist aggression. It also has the job of regulating intricate business transactions, conserving the country's natural resources and providing a variety of services in the fields of social security, housing and labor relations, to say nothing of such other chores as paying the interest on the national debt, running the national parks, operating a benefit system for veterans, carrying the mails and apprehending those who violate the nation's laws.

All this requires money, and that in turn means taxes. Popular as tax cuts may be, the American people as a whole are quite willing to pay their equitable share of taxes providing they retain confidence in the job their government is doing.

Is 1956 a good year for cutting taxes? In one respect at least the answer is "yes"—because the government's budget will be roughly in balance by June, 1956. This contrasts



MR. HENLE

sharply with the fiscal record of recent years. Heavy defense expenditures, together with a natural reluctance to levy higher taxes, have forced the federal government to operate at a deficit six out of the past nine years. There has even been a deficit in each of the past three years under an Administration passionately devoted to balancing the budget.

During the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, the government expects another deficit. In August official estimates indicated that the federal government would receive \$62.1 billion in income and spend \$63.8 billion, leaving a deficit of \$1.7 billion.

However, it now appears that today's prosperous economy will achieve what three years of valiant effort by the Administration had failed to attain—a balanced budget. Today's high level of income means that tax receipts from individuals and corporations will undoubtedly rise higher than the August estimates. When January comes and the budget figures are brought up to date, it is expected that the budget will be close to balance.

Even if a small deficit should remain, this would not be cause for concern. The regular budget, it must be noted, does not include the opera-

tion of government trust funds (such as that handling the old-age and survivors' insurance program) which traditionally receive about \$2 billion more in taxes from the public than they pay out in benefits. Thus a small deficit in the regular budget is not inflationary because it is more than balanced by the surplus in the trust fund.

With the January figures expected to show the most favorable budget outlook in several years, the stage is set for representatives of both parties to press for tax reductions. At one time, not too long ago, it was considered desirable to utilize any budget surplus to reduce the national debt. Nowadays, though, the country has become so accustomed to living with a \$275 billion debt that the prospect of cutting a few billion dollars off this staggering total doesn't excite the voters.

However, is there not another consideration? Should not the federal government be utilizing any extra money to finance important programs urgently needed by the American people? What about the nation's critical shortage of school facilities? What about an expanded network of highways, a program to eradicate slum conditions and a more realistic method of assisting agriculture?

On a number of these important issues, specific legislation awaits the action of Congress during the coming session.

Of primary importance is the passage of a federal aid to education bill. The children now crowded into sub-standard schools cannot wait any longer for financial assistance to help construct additional school buildings. Lengthy hearings have already been held by both Senate and House committees, and it is hoped that action on this legislation will be taken early next year.

An intensive program to eradicate slums is long overdue. This will require a far more intensive program than Congress has so far been willing to approve.

The havoc wrought by hurricanes Connie and Diane point up the need for a more extensive flood control

program. Only the federal government is in a position to take action on this critical problem.

Legislation to expand the federal government's role in highway construction has already passed the Senate and is awaiting action in the House. The nation's entire economy would get a lift from a modernized network of interstate highways.

Other legislation that will be receiving Congressional attention during the coming session includes measures to strengthen the declining farm income, to improve economic conditions in "depressed" areas and to expand civil aviation facilities.

These programs are all urgently needed, but they will also cost money. In fact, their total cost might be larger than the amount currently being considered for tax reduction.

DOES this mean that Congress should not reduce taxes? Not necessarily. Rather, it means that Congress, in making any tax changes, should see to it that the loss of revenue to the federal government is kept to a minimum so that sufficient resources are available to finance these urgently needed programs.

Instead of a drive to cut taxes wholesale, what is needed is a more reasoned analysis of the federal tax structure. Such an analysis would indicate that the tax burden today falls most heavily on the lowest-income groups.

The nation's tax system has strayed away from the principle that the burden of taxes should fall according to ability to pay. While the ability to pay principle is still the foundation for the individual income tax, the principle has been watered down by numerous special exemptions and privileges written into the law. As a result of provisions such as those concerning income-splitting, capital gains and depletion allowances, the effect of the entire tax structure in the U.S. cannot be called truly progressive. There is every evidence that low-income families bear a disproportionately high share of the tax burden.

The clearest need today is for tax relief in the lower income groups. At the same time other income groups should be asked to assume their rightful tax burden by repealing special privileges which they now enjoy. The result would be tax relief to those who need it without any significant loss

of revenue to the federal government.

For some time the American Federation of Labor has supported a program of tax relief for the low-income groups. The A. F. of L. has recommended that this tax relief take the form of a reduction in the initial 20 per cent rate in the federal income tax. This is the rate which applies to the first \$2000 of taxable income. Roughly speaking, it applies to income above \$700 earned by an individual and income over \$2700 earned by a married man with a family of four.

Tax relief to low-income groups can be accomplished most effectively by splitting this first bracket rate and establishing a lower rate on the first part of this income. For example, if the first \$500 of taxable income were taxed at a 10 per cent rate and the remaining \$1500 at the standard 20 per cent rate, the resulting savings for low and moderate income families would amount up to \$100 per family.

An alternative method of granting tax relief to low-income families would be to increase the present level of exemptions. The present \$600 personal exemption adopted in 1948 has become out-of-date because of the general upward movement in prices which has taken place in recent years.

Along with this tax reduction for low and moderate income families must come Congressional action to repeal special privileges which allow certain types of income (available only to those in the upper income brackets) to go tax-free. Two particular provisions are outstanding in the arbitrary inequities that they create: (1) the tax treatment of dividend income, and (2) the special

depletion allowances for the oil, gas and other extractive industries.

The special provisions concerning dividend income adopted in 1954 provide that taxpayers may exclude from gross income the first \$50 of dividend income received. In addition, a credit of 4 per cent of total dividends is permitted against the individual's income tax liability.

It is worthwhile contrasting this new provision in the tax law with the special credit which until 1943 allowed workers and others gainfully employed a 10 per cent deduction on all *earned* income for income-tax purposes. In effect, the new provisions create a special credit for *unearned* income received in the form of dividends.

This dividend credit benefits almost entirely individuals in the upper income brackets. In fact, careful research has disclosed the fact that only 8 per cent of U.S. families (spending units) own publicly issued common or preferred stock in American corporations and that this small group is concentrated in the higher income brackets.

An examination of Treasury Department data shows clearly how the dividend credit works almost entirely to the benefit of the higher income groups. Of the 42.6 million taxpayers filing returns in 1951, only 3.5 million—or eight taxpayers out of each 100—listed dividends as a source of income. For the 8 million taxpayers with total income of between \$600 to \$2000, only three taxpayers out of each 100 received dividends. By contrast, in the income groups above \$25,000, from seventy-two to ninety-six taxpayers out of each 100 listed

THE 1955-56 U.S. BUDGET

Income (Billions of dollars)		Expenses (Billions of dollars)	
Individual income taxes	\$32.8	Military defense	\$34.0
Corporation income taxes	19.2	Atomic Energy	1.9
Excise taxes	9.3	Veterans' benefits	4.8
Other income	.8	Interest on the public debt	6.8
Total	\$62.1	Labor, housing and social security	2.6
		All other	13.7
		Total	\$63.8

The proportion of all income that goes in taxes to the U.S. government has been declining for the past four years. During World War II, it was as high as 29 per cent; this year the figure is 21 per cent.

dividend income. Continuation of this dividend credit costs the U.S. Treasury about \$500 million annually in lost revenue.

The serious inequity created by this special treatment of one type of income must be corrected by repealing this section of the 1954 law.

THE problems raised by the second inequity, depletion allowances, affects both individuals and corporations. Under the current law, all types of extractive industries (oil, natural gas, coal, together with various minerals and metals) are entitled to this special allowance.

The defense for this special allowance becomes weaker each year. In early days, the privilege of calculating the special allowance was allowed for only the oil and natural gas industries. It was claimed that such an allowance was necessary to encourage expansion and additional production of these important sources of energy. As years have passed, Congress has added more and more industries to the list of those entitled to this privilege. Today all industries that extract any type of useful material from the ground can claim the allowance, whether or not the item is in short supply. Among the commodities in danger of "depletion" for which this special allowance is given are sand, gravel, stone and salt.

Certainly business firms are entitled to deduct as a legitimate expense the cost of wear and tear on their machinery, plant and equipment. Congress has set forth specific ways in which this wear and tear or depreciation is to be calculated for income tax purposes. In fact, a completely new and far more generous method of calculation was included in the 1954 income tax law. It should be noted, however, that in the case of the extractive industries the depletion allowance is calculated not as a percentage of the cost of the machinery or equipment but as a percentage deducted from the gross income of the enterprise. Moreover, depletion allowance continues to be deductible even after the owner of the property has recovered, tax-free, 100 per cent of his invested capital.

The results of this special favoritism for the extractive industries may not have been clear at the time the depletion allowance was first adopted. By now, though, it seems obvious that by this device these industries

are simply not paying their full share of taxes. The depletion allowance industries have become a haven for wealthy individuals seeking a tax-favored outlet for their accumulated capital.

Whatever special circumstances might have been warranted at one time no longer prevail. Particularly with the very generous depreciation provisions in the 1954 law, there is no further reason for continuing these excessive depletion allowances. As former President Harry Truman stated in his 1950 tax message:

"I know of no loophole in the tax laws so inequitable as the excessive depletion exemptions now enjoyed by oil and mining interests."

There are a number of other in-

equities in our tax laws which need to be promptly corrected. If these loopholes, particularly the two concerning dividend income and depletion allowances, are corrected, the federal government would recapture sufficient revenue to make possible a definite easing of today's heavy tax burden on the lowest income families.

It is natural that in an election year political forces are directed toward tax reductions. Union members, as well as all interested citizens, must be alert to make certain that any proposed changes in taxes leave the federal government with sufficient funds to carry out its necessary functions while at the same time maintaining a tax structure which is fair to all Americans.

Thinking of a Florida vacation? Please remember that

the strike of Local 255, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, A. F. of L., against many of the leading Miami Beach hotels is still going on. Indeed, the tempo of the strike is now being stepped up. The purpose of the strike, which began last April, is to win union recognition and prevail upon the hotel owners to engage in the normal American practice of collective bargaining.

For all too many years the operators of the struck luxury hotels have been paying atrociously low wages. In addition, the hotel owners have been imposing extremely harsh working conditions upon their oppressed employees. Local 255's strike is the result of these workers' determination to lift themselves out of the Middle Ages. From the start the struggle has had the wholehearted support of the entire American labor movement.

You can help Local 255 in two simple ways. First, if you are planning a winter vacation, make sure that you don't leave your home city until you have obtained and carefully studied the latest list of unfair hotels. Mail a postcard to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, 525 Walnut Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio, asking for the current Florida "Off Limits" list. The second way you can help is by calling attention to the Miami Beach hotel strike everywhere you go. Tell all your friends about it. Tell your neighbors and business associates about it. Tell your relatives about it. Word-of-mouth strike publicity is vital because most of the nation's newspapers, concerned about a possible loss of lucrative Miami Beach advertising, have imposed a blackout on this great story of working people fighting courageously in an effort to gain decent wages and just treatment. If everyone helps, victory will come soon.

Pennsylvania's Labor Movement Is

OLD IN TRADITION♦♦

Young in Spirit

The working people of the Keystone State have been making history for a long time. They have always had to struggle and fight for a square deal. They're fighting today.

By JOSEPH A. McDONOUGH and EARL C. BOHR

*President and Secretary-Treasurer, Respectively,
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor*



MR. McDONOUGH

THE Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor today comprises a labor family of slightly more than 1,500 affiliated local unions, some forty-two central labor unions, thirty-five local units of Labor's League for Political Education and sixty councils and boards. These affiliated organizations represent more than 800,000 dues-paying members of American Federation of Labor unions in Pennsylvania. With their families, these organized working people make up a large part of the state's total population.

In Pennsylvania the struggle of workers to better their lot has been going on for a long, long time. The early part of this story is interwoven with the very beginnings of our American way of life.

The first recorded strike of workers for shorter hours was staged by carpenters in mid-Eighteenth Century Philadelphia. The first recorded labor union in America came into existence in 1792 in Philadelphia, where the boot and shoemakers, though branded by the courts as a "combination and conspiracy" and

indicted on the grounds they sought to raise their own wages, nevertheless persisted and survived intact.

The struggle continued throughout the Nineteenth Century. In the anthracite fields the legendary and notorious Molly Maguires first came into being for the purpose of settling accounts with ruthless coal bosses and foremen and the mercenaries who betrayed coal miners as they sought to improve their existence. The heroic efforts of the miners to organize against the almost insurmountable odds of labor spies and the Coal and Iron Police have been sanctified in the annals of labor history.

The brutality of the Coal and Iron Police was matched by the ruthless and corrupt political organization which, for generations, had exerted a stranglehold on the political life of Pennsylvania.

In 1902 the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor was chartered. It had the benefit of the untiring and idealistic leadership of such men as Charles Miller, Elmer Greenawalt, F. C. Quinn and the beloved James H. Maurer. In Pennsylvania, as in many other places, maintaining a labor organization was often difficult and hazardous.

The determination of Pennsylvania's unions until 1932, and in some cases even later, to ban politics from the union hall and the union agenda was a necessary defense against the efforts of unscrupulous political bosses to corrupt susceptible members of labor.

The defense of one's union was at one and the same time a sacred obligation and a high privilege. To fall by the wayside, to yield to the blandishments and the cunning of the employer or to betray your fellow worker was to bear forever the label of "scab."

Labor heroes were spoken of in dramatic tones. In fact, in the anthracite fields the old-timers will still sing homespun ballads of working-class martyrs.

These were the beginnings, memorable and tragic as they were.

The 1930s found a small but determined labor movement in Pennsylvania, battered and bruised by the great depression. But with hope rekindled and energies revived by the New Deal symbol, thousands upon thousands of workers entered the la-



MR. BOHR



Signing of a bill by Governor Leader is witnessed by Harry Boyer (left), president of the C.I.O. Council, and President McDonough of Pennsylvania A. F. of L. Labor-advocated measure being signed is one on fair employment practices.

bor movement. A successful challenge was hurled at steel, soft coal and thousands of manufacturing plants throughout the state.

The division in labor's ranks in 1937 and 1938 found the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor in hot water. The then president, John Phillips, elected to cast his lot with the new C.I.O. movement and endeavored to retain physical possession of the State Federation of Labor's building as well as its property. Confusion resulted. It was brought to an end only after the State Federation of Labor had reorganized in April, 1938, under the leadership of James L. McDevitt as president and David Williams as secretary-treasurer. Through long and arduous legal procedures the property of the State Federation of Labor was restored to the A. F. of L. movement.

President McDevitt was beset by a multitude of problems. It was necessary to reconcile and bring together the "old line" unions, which had staunchly rejected political participation, and the new unions (the "New Deal babies"), which sought complete political involvement.

Complicating the picture was the resurgence of a vengeful Republican oligarchy, once again in power, which sought to reverse the innovations and reforms instituted by Pennsylvania's short-lived Little New Deal administration.

With consummate skill and devotion, President McDevitt slowly and

carefully succeeded in welding, out of the fragments of a divided labor movement, a strong and vigorous State Federation of Labor—an organization and a symbol to which the many affiliates, notwithstanding differing organizational personalities, could proudly look for leadership and for group expression.

From 1938 to 1954 the state administration and its political apparatus were becoming progressively more anti-labor and more pro-employer. The gains of the Little New Deal were weakened and washed out, one by one, by both legislative and administrative changes.

THE dissatisfaction of trade unionists and the people generally with the reactionary and anti-labor cast of the state government became apparent when, after many years of corrupt city administration, the A. F. of L. in Philadelphia, through Labor's League for Political Education, in concert with the C.I.O. groups in that city, drove out the political bosses.

In other parts of the state rumblings with the same overtones were heard. And so, in November of 1954, A. F. of L. members and their families, sparked by the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and the state branch of Labor's League for Political Education, brought to the governor's chair in Harrisburg a young chicken farmer and state senator from York County, George M. Leader, and with him a liberal Demo-

cratic control of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. However, because of previous gerrymandering of senatorial districts, the people were unsuccessful in wresting control of the State Senate from the hands of the anti-labor reactionaries.

Earlier in 1954, Jim McDevitt, who had been serving for several years as full-time national director of Labor's League while on leave as president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, stepped down and was replaced by the present president. The change in the presidency, coupled with the new situation in the state government, has indeed produced a remarkable and important set of circumstances as well as problems for the State Federation of Labor.

The election of Governor Leader, who had campaigned on a platform which included *in toto* the objectives set forth by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, set afire the aspirations of Labor, statewide, in the hope that much of the anti-labor legislation which had been enacted during the preceding sixteen years could now finally be corrected and replaced by proper legislation.

However, the political facts of life were not long in revealing themselves to organized labor. The Senate, controlled by the reactionary forces, seemed determined to become the burial ground for labor legislation and other progressive proposals needed by the people of Pennsylvania.

Of the more than 130 legislative proposals sponsored by either the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor or its affiliates, all but a handful still rest in committee.

A scant half-dozen bills in which organized labor has a strong interest have been enacted into law. Notable among these are the fair employment practices bill, finally enacted after a ten-year struggle by labor, and a vastly improved unemployment compensation law which now places Pennsylvania's standards at the top rather than at the bottom among all states. Another important gain was the fair truck bill long sought by the Teamsters' Union. This measure eliminates discriminatory barriers which had impeded the flow of industrial products through the state.

Still pending are important proposals which would restore the anti-injunction features of Pennsylvania law, bills amending the State Labor Relations Act by eliminating a num-

ber of discriminatory features and a bill calling for improvements in the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Occupational Diseases Act.

Unfortunately, the entire program endorsed by the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, dealing with much-needed improvements in the state institutions for the mentally ill and handicapped children as well as the inadequacies of the public school system, has been blocked by the political stalemate in the legislature.

This legislative session is destined to become the longest in the state's history. The length of the session has imposed a tremendous burden upon the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, for its officers have the responsibility of carefully and constantly watching over the proceedings in both chambers.

However, the frustrations and the heartbreak of our legislative difficulties have not been without real benefit to our movement.

In addition to being able to point out to our affiliated unions the truth of the traditional American Federation of Labor philosophy of "supporting our friends and defeating our enemies," the officers of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor have been confronted with the need to conduct a more than usually intensive educational program.

It quickly became apparent that the need to provide additional revenues to finance the reforms sought by organized labor and progressive people were destined to be complicated by a constitutional prohibition against a graduated income tax.

Though Governor Leader had pledged that he would oppose a sales tax as a means of financing the needs of government, the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce, the Pennsylvania Association of Manufacturers, the Pennsylvania Bankers Association and other such groups were hard at work on behalf of such a sales tax—but this time at a higher rate than the last such one per cent tax.

In the formulation of a tax proposal the governor turned to organized labor. The State Federation of Labor called upon the A. F. of L. for assistance in the person of its tax consultant, Arthur Elder. The contribution made by Art Elder resulted in the proposal for a classified income tax which, though cumbersome, nevertheless was compatible with the principle of ability to pay.

The Executive Council and officers of the State Federation of Labor were then called upon to tour the state on behalf of this program in the face of violent opposition of the one-party press.

We lost the fight for this tax in the Senate, the Republican majority remaining adamant against any progressive program. However, in this battle we won greater respect on the part of our affiliates who, for the first time, had impressively brought home to them the responsibility of trade union leaders in local and state affairs.

THE Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor has an ambitious program of activity for its affiliates. Aside from our legislative activity, our Department of Education and Research was reorganized after our 1954 convention and our educational program, though fairly extensive in the past, has been broadened considerably.

We have now undertaken a series of one-day educational institutes involving central labor unions, individual members of our Executive Council and Pennsylvania State University. Thus, for the first time we are instituting educational activities in areas where such a program had never taken place.

The officers' training institute, sponsored jointly by the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and the Labor Education Service of Pennsylvania State University, has become a regular feature of the Federation's educational program. More than 100 union officers and active members participate each August. The sixth annual institute, held last August, was attended by more than 125 union officers. It featured Senator Morse of Oregon, Governor Leader and officers of neighboring State Federations of Labor. These officers' training institutes will, of course, continue.

Following the shining example of the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union in setting up a scholarship program, the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor is promoting a statewide scholarship program which ultimately involves the granting of some seventy-five scholarships each year.

In order to assist central labor unions, particularly those in isolated areas, to become more effective in their respective communities, the State Federation of Labor is inaugurating a department to stimulate and coordinate widespread educational

and community activity on the part of city central bodies.

A new committee authorized by convention action is to coordinate and stimulate greater participation in United Fund and other community agencies.

Especially are we proud of the Pennsylvania branch of L.L.P.E. and our many local L.L.P.E. units. It is gratifying that, notwithstanding the fact that Pennsylvania is the third largest state in the Union, this year our contributions to Labor's League, money-wise, place us second only to New York.

As important as anything else is the realization of the officers of the State Federation of Labor and those active in our movement that the deplorable condition of the state institutions and the public schools is a responsibility of the trade union movement. The revelation that Pennsylvania ranks forty-eighth in the standing of states in many of the services offered the mentally and physically ill and the handicapped children, and that in a few instances we are fiftieth in national ranking (falling behind all the states and also Alaska and Hawaii), has shocked and outraged our sensibilities.

The sick children and adults in Pennsylvania's inadequate institutions and those waiting to enter come from our side of the tracks. We are now determined that the shame which blots the name of our state shall be removed by means of a vigorous, modern program, properly financed.

The pages of the *Pennsylvania Federationist*, our monthly paper, and other material published by the State Federation will bring home to increasing numbers of trade unionists our findings and our program.

Although the A. F. of L. movement of Pennsylvania is old in tradition, ours is a movement of young labor veterans who have vigor and determination and are not afraid to embrace new responsibilities and new ideas when circumstances warrant. It is in this spirit that we approach the golden opportunity for organized labor in Pennsylvania now available to us through the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Together we propose to march forward to make in this great state and this great nation a better place in which all of us and our children may live in peace and plenty.

Even though the cold and distinctly ugly facts
are right there where anybody can see them,
it seems that many persons who ought to know better
are deliberately trying to forget that

You Can't Do Business **with HITLER-or KHRUSHCHEV**

By HENRY RUTZ

SINCE the historic meeting of the Big Four last July, every Communist front organization—from the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Council of Peace and the scores of other international groupings down to the U.S. Communist Party's noisy *Daily Worker*—has been concentrating on one program, namely, the exploitation to the fullest of the so-called "spirit of Geneva."

Of especial interest to international communism was President Eisenhower's proposal at Geneva to break down the Iron Curtain barriers to allow cultural exchanges. This was immediately seized upon by the Soviets and their American stooges to start a tremendous campaign for the exchange of American worker delegations with Soviet "worker teams." The drive for such exchanges of "workers" has also been heavily pushed in Western Germany. The Communists are in a great rush to carry out what they claim is President Eisenhower's policy.

Surely, there is a zeal for peace among the populations of the whole Western world and, as far as we can tell, of the common man in the Communist world. Everyone dreads the thought of an actually "hot" war. But can the so-called cultural exchange programs bring about a practical exchange of the common man of Russia with the common man of America?

Recently some German trade union leaders again reminded us of the let-down they experienced while they were incarcerated in Nazi concentra-



MR. RUTZ

tion camps in the fall of 1938. It was September, and the eyes of the world were on Great Britain's Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, who was going to Munich to meet with Adolf Hitler. By 1938 the expansive Nazi dictatorship had brought Europe to the brink of a new world conflict.

The trade union and political prisoners of the Nazi regime hoped that Mr. Chamberlain, as the spokesman of the democratic West, would bluntly tell Hitler that if he carried out his designs of taking over parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland, he could expect Britain to go to war. Instead, Mr. Chamberlain came away from Munich believing in Hitler's denials of aggressive intentions and claiming that his talks with Hitler had preserved "peace in our time." Sev-

eral months later Hitler marched in and took over the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, and in September of 1939 he divided Poland with Russia.

Long before Neville Chamberlain had his rude awakening, the American Federation of Labor knew that "you can't do business with Hitler." The American Federation of Labor never recognized the Nazi German Labor Front as a legitimate trade union. It would have been unthinkable in those days even to have suggested an exchange of American workers with the brown-shirted hordes of Adolf Hitler.

Does anyone believe that the Russian dictatorship of today is less totalitarian, less brutal, less despicable than the Hitler regime of the 1930s? If so, then let him explain the millions of Russians who are languishing in slave labor camps. Let him explain the uprooting and the sending to Siberia of millions of families of the formerly independent Baltic countries, to say nothing of the millions also transferred from Southern Russia. Let him explain the Soviet purges of anyone, high or low, who happens to disagree with the dictator in power at the moment.

Since the Moscow government of today is obviously a brutal dictatorship, we were somewhat disturbed by President Eisenhower's turning of the other cheek at the "meeting at the summit." The Russians since have reacted true to form. They have slapped that cheek on every occasion. At Geneva the Communist leaders got the impression that the United States is afraid of them. They have there-

fore continued their drive toward world domination with more confidence than ever that the free West will ultimately capitulate.

Let's look at the cold facts.

The Soviet orbit's state of preparedness for continued instant aggression was demonstrated even before all the "summit" participants had unpacked their bags upon their return to their homelands from Geneva. An unarmed commercial Israeli plane, which accidentally strayed a few miles into Bulgarian territory, was barbarously attacked and shot down with the loss of fifty-eight lives, including twelve Americans. The North Korean puppets were not deterred by the new "peace spirit," shooting down an unarmed observation-training plane over the neutral zone between North and South Korea.

The conciliatory concessions made by the Western Big Three in the "meeting at the summit" weakened the position of pro-Western Chancellor Adenauer of the German Federal Republic for his first meeting with the Soviet leaders in Moscow. A despondent Adenauer felt that he couldn't come back from Russia empty-handed. He agreed to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two governments in exchange for the paltry offer of the return of some 9,000 German prisoners of war. Adenauer had hoped the Russians would also make proposals for reuniting the two Germanys and for the return of several hundreds of thousands of German civilians taken prisoner by the Russians during the first year of occupation.

The Moscow radio hinted a few days ago that another Moslem state, Afghanistan, is about to receive Communist arms. That country is engaged in a bitter feud with Pakistan, which is pro-Western. Upon checking, we find that the Afghan radio station a day earlier announced that Afghanistan has in fact accepted an invitation to send a military mission to Communist-ruled Czechoslovakia to view the latest types of military equipment. Czechoslovakia's sending of several shiploads of arms to Egypt has resulted in the actual start of a shooting war between Egypt and Israel. Communist arms to Egypt and Afghanistan will be accompanied or followed by large Russian military attaché teams.

The Kremlin recently has also stepped up its economic aid to both

Egypt and Afghanistan. In Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, the Soviets are building roads, paving streets, laying pipelines and erecting grain elevators and oil tanks. In India, the Russians are building a large steel mill. In Egypt, the Soviets have contracted for the building of a dam.

Add to the above the swing to the left in the recent Indonesian elections, in which international Communist intrigues played a most important role, and the declaration by Communist China it would take Macao by force from Portugal and you get an idea of how Moscow is cooperating in "the spirit of Geneva."

On the Western Allied side, "the spirit of Geneva" has had opposite effects. The unwarranted optimistic official press releases issued by the U.S. Geneva delegation in the conference's early days strongly suggested that the Communist dictatorship of the past should be forgotten. For the first time Soviet bosses—in this case Khrushchev, Bulganin and Molotov—were pictured as the amiable and smiling representatives of (Shh! Mustn't say the dirty word "totalitarian"!) Russia. President Eisenhower topped this exhibition of sweetness and light by bringing presents to give to his "good friend Zhukov" for the reported marriage of Marshal Zhukov's daughter.

This veritable epidemic of affection shown Communist Russia, a former social outcast, caused a major letdown in the Allied world. The forces of neutralism as well as those of nationalism now claimed to see less need for defensive alliances. In the United States these forces moved to cut foreign aid and military assistance. Britain announced a 12½ per cent reduction in its armed forces. Belgium and the Netherlands propose to reduce the length of service of their conscriptive forces. France diverted two divisions from NATO (the defense of Europe) to North Africa, although France was still two divisions short of fulfilling its original NATO commitments.

The so-called "Geneva spirit" had done its work. The Western allies relaxed in their defenses while Russia stealthily continued its conspiracy to conquer the world.

Thank heavens, there is one powerful element in our free society which was not taken in by the "Geneva spirit." It is the world's free labor movement.

THE International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, of which the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations are important components, warned its member organizations to be on guard against the appeals for an exchange of U.S. worker delegations with those of the phony unions of dictator-ruled Russia. Said the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions:

"If free trade union representatives were to visit Russia, they would be shown 'impeccable factories, gymnasias, trade union buildings (state trade unions, of course) luxuriously furnished and sports fields magnificently kept.'"

"The visitors would not be shown the prison cells of the Lubianka, nor the forced-labor camps of Siberia and the glacial region of the Baltic, with their millions upon millions of prisoners and slaves; nor the suburbs of Moscow, Leningrad and other towns of the Soviet world where entire families crowd together in a single room; nor the famous *kolkhozes* where Soviet men and women working on farms lead an extremely primitive existence.

"In spite of the friendliness campaign, all this continues to exist, and as long as it goes on the Soviet empire will deservedly continue to be condemned and reproved by free men and by the free peoples."

The free trade unions of the United States have not fallen for this new Communist line of "exchange of worker delegations." Neither have the unions of Western Germany, where the drive has been terrific, been moved by this obvious Communist snare. Each of the sixteen German national unions, which have 6,000,000 members in the aggregate, has made very clear in its official publications that free West German workers will not meet with representatives of the captive Germans of the East.

This was a decision made by brothers against brothers! The decision was a hard one, but it reflected the free workers' overwhelming abhorrence of anything which smacked of Soviet dictatorship.

Freedom-loving Western Germans insist that *you can't do business with Khrushchev*. The sooner the free democratic world as a whole realizes this truism the better chance it has of its survival.



It's a Disgrace What

By **LEO E. GEORGE**
President, National Federation
of Postoffice Clerks



MR. GEORGE

EVERY day the need for a practicable employee-management arrangement in the United States postal service becomes more apparent.

In private industry, employers and workers have long since recognized the value, even the necessity of adequate and mutually satisfactory machinery for the prompt adjustment of grievances and for consultation and mediation of differences of all kinds between management and employees. In private industry, employers as well as employees are aware of the benefits in the form of improved morale—which results in greater productivity and loyalty to the job—when the workers receive proper acknowledgment of their interests and utilization of their knowledge and skills.

Any industry or business which affects the welfare of the people or a considerable portion of them owes it to the public to use to the fullest extent the abilities and facilities of both management and labor to provide the best possible service. No business affects all of the people as directly or as intimately as the postal service. It is essential, therefore, that the morale of approximately half a million employees of the U.S. postoffices system be at the highest possible level.

The Lloyd-LaFollette Act, known as the "anti-gag" law, was enacted long ago because of the refusal by Postoffice Department officials to recognize the right of employees to organize for their mutual benefit and protection and because of executive orders by Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft prohibiting any appeal by postal workers to Congress for redress of their grievances or for improvements in their conditions of employment.

The National Federation of Post-

office Clerks has long sought legislation to amplify and supplement the Lloyd-LaFollette Act and guarantee the practical application of the rights it defines, namely, the right to organize and to affiliate with other organizations of workers for their mutual benefit, economically and socially, and the right to petition Congress.

Proposed legislation to require consultation and negotiation with organizations of employees on matters affecting the welfare of employees and to establish an impartial Board of Appeals for individual grievances has been before Congress for numerous sessions. In the present Congress is the bill H.R. 697, by Representative George M. Rhodes of Pennsylvania.

It is significant that a special committee of the conservative American Bar Association recently issued a report declaring that federal and postal employees "have an inherent and justifiable right to organize among themselves to serve their own best interests and welfare." The committee recommended that the government provide stronger recognition of employee unions and establish workable grievance machinery to handle the complaints of aggrieved employees.

The Bar Association's committee concluded its report as follows:

"The business of government is everybody's business. A satisfied and contented corps of public servants, the attraction and retention of competent personnel and uninterrupted service to the people are the essential goals to be sought in providing any grievance procedure."

At the present time the need for recognition of employee organizations and the impartial and humane consideration of personnel problems and personal grievances is greater than

ever. Instead, we have the greatest reorganization of the postal system in its history, effectuated by so-called "experts" in operation efficiency whose knowledge of the intricacies has been garnered from classrooms and largely consists of mathematics. Revolutionary changes are being made without consultation with employees or their representatives and without previous knowledge being given them.

A job-standard program that exceeds anything devised by the unlamented Taylor* or any of his disciples is in progress. Tests are being made to determine the time required to do a task. When that is determined, a set of figures is compiled to compute the productivity of an office or a section of that office. Ratings are posted periodically so that the offices or sections may be compared, the object being to induce the section or office that is rated low to improve its production.

As an illustration, if it takes one second for a distributor of mail to pick up a letter, read the address and

* Frederick Winslow Taylor, who died in 1915, was an industrial engineer. Under the guise of "scientific management," he advanced speed-up methods which were emphatically opposed by working people.

What They're Doing to Us

inspect it to see that it bears the proper postage, that the stamp is properly canceled and that it bears a legible postmark, and place it in the proper pigeonhole of his case, he should distribute sixty letters per minute, 3,600 letters per hour and 28,800 letters in an eight-hour day.

Impossible, you say? Well, that is the gimmick. If you are an "old-timer" (one who has been ten or more years in the service) and you are married and have a home partly paid for, have two or three children to feed, clothe and educate, and you are not skilled in another trade or profession—there is no other job where you can use the skill you have acquired or the knowledge you have spent innumerable hours of your own time to acquire to make you a good mail distributor—you don't want to lose your job or be subjected to salary reduction or suspension without pay. So you do your level best to get your productivity up to an impossible standard.

The supervisor has the responsibility of seeing that his section or office standard is improved. He is harassed by the higher supervisors and in turn is impelled to harass the men under him. Men working under such conditions soon lose the spirit of "team-work" that makes dispatches on time and keeps the mails moving expeditiously toward their destination.

ANOTHER example of the manner in which so-called "economy" is being practiced is the arbitrary reduction of auxiliary help, meaning the reduction of the hours of substitutes by an average of at least 10 per cent. Thousands of substitute employees who were looking forward to the increase in pay provided by the act of June 10, 1955, now find that, because of the reduction in their hours of work, they are getting less than they received before the enactment of that law.

Typical was the experience of one postoffice which tried to observe the following instructions:

"Vacancies in any classification should not be filled and conditional career or temporary appointments pending establishment of registers should not be made without prior

approval of this office. When requesting appointments, the reason such an employee is to be hired must be stated specifically.

"Temporary employees should be dropped from the rolls of all offices to the greatest extent possible.

"Employees assigned to window work should be used in the mailing division as far as possible. The work of window clerks should be consolidated as much as possible with a view to effecting savings. No reduction in necessary service should be permitted, however. Employees assigned to desk work should be utilized on the mails for parts of their tours.

"At city delivery offices, mail arriving on weekends should be sorted so as to be available for the carriers on Monday. If carriers are leaving on Monday without taking the mail which is available in the office, it may be necessary to schedule additional regular employees on Saturdays and Sundays to insure that distribution is complete.

"The instructions in Article 342.311 of the *Postal Manual* in regard to pairing of carrier routes should be fully utilized. The cooperation of carriers should be obtained in casing on their paired route when their partner is absent on compensatory time or on leave. This should result in a savings in the auxiliary time needed to cover these routes on the lighter days.

"Especially during light periods of the year, some postmasters are effecting savings by employing substitute carriers only six hours to cover routes when the regular carriers are absent on compensatory leave.

"Similar savings can be made on parcel post routes. Hour for hour replacement for absent time on parcel post routes should not be allowed unless absolutely necessary.

"By District Operations Manager."

Manpower hours were reduced 9 per cent in the case of clerks and 8 per cent in the carrier force. The office managed to keep within the allowance for carriers but exceeded the allowance for clerical work slightly. Second- and third-class mails were delayed from twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Special delivery mail and

some parcel post mail were delivered by regular foot carriers.

In many offices regular clerks who eight within ten hours, and substitutes are being scheduled for early morning and late evening tours to make up a four-, five- or six-hour day.

Certainly, the consideration or, rather, the lack of consideration being given to the welfare of employees is being reflected in a deterioration of postal service. Yet the present heads of the Postoffice Department would put the onus for the lowered morale of postal employees upon the organization to which these workers belong.

Addressing the National Association of Postmasters at Detroit a short time ago, Mr. Norman Abrams, Assistant Postmaster General, said:

"We have been developing some work performance standards for the distribution of mail by postoffice clerks which have recently been attacked by certain so-called leaders of the Federation of Postoffice Clerks, who seek to create dissension and to confuse the true issues in a struggle for personal power within their organization. Actually, these, so-called spokesmen are advocating a slowdown of work which, I feel certain, postoffice clerks generally resent."

This is the same Mr. Abrams who, in discussing the recent salary legislation with a postoffice clerk who had mentioned his difficulties in trying to provide for a wife and four children on a postoffice clerk's salary, said:

"You can't hold me responsible for your four children."

He cannot, however, shift the responsibility for the confusion, dissatisfaction and disgust of postal clerks who are being treated like refractory children to people who have built an organization based upon a justifiable pride in an essential service. Nor can he dodge the responsibility for the deterioration of service that is taking place in spite of the sincere efforts of postoffice clerks to give the public the service they want and to which the people of America are entitled.

If there were no other justification for the enactment of the Rhodes bill—and there are many—the callousness with which the plea of a faithful employee was brushed aside is ample reason for the people to demand and for Congress to require that the postal employees be given humane consideration and treatment.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

▶A significant victory has been won by employes of six plants of the Rockingham Poultry Cooperative in Virginia and West Virginia. They obtained a 15½-cent hourly increase after a seven-week strike. Nine hundred employes, members of Local 393, Butcher Workmen, benefit from the pact.

▶Two downtown hotels in Indianapolis are 100 per cent organized for the first time. Local 58, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, has signed agreements with the Antlers Hotel and the Sheraton-Lincoln Hotel calling for substantial wage increases and fringe benefits.

▶Federal Labor Union 20584 and the Peerless Wire Goods Company, Lafayette, Ind., have signed an accord calling for an across-the-board increase of 10 cents an hour. An additional 10-cent boost will become effective November 1, 1956.

▶Local 963 of the Glaziers has negotiated a new two-year agreement with employers in the nation's capital. The workers get 12½ cents an hour more this year and again next year. Two holidays are also added each year.

▶More than 200 members of Local 143, Butcher Workmen, have won a wage boost of \$5 per week and other improvements in their new contract with meat jobbing plants and sausage kitchens in the Portland, Ore., area.

▶Local 193 of the Painters and Atlanta, Ga., contractors have agreed on a 15-cent hourly increase and a boost of 10 cents more next September.

▶Local 14, Office Employes, has won a representation election among

two units of office employes at the U.S. Hoffman Machinery Company, Scranton, Pa. Contract negotiations are now under way.

▶Two Detroit local unions of office workers have agreed to amalgamate upon completion of the A. F. of L.-C.I.O. merger. C.I.O. Local Industrial Union 72 and Local 42 of the A. F. of L. Office Employes will join have an estimated membership of 1,500.

▶Federal Labor Unions 24321, Peru, Ind., has gained a substantial wage increase and an improved retirement plan in a new pact with the Central Signal Company. A. F. of L. Organizer Don Costello assisted in the negotiations.

▶Local 2549 of the Carpenters, Chicago, has gained an increase of 10 cents an hour at the W. W. Kimball piano plant. The pact also calls for a cost-of-living wage escalator, the first time such a clause has been accepted by the company in its 98-year history.

▶Teamsters working as newspaper drivers have secured shorter hours in a new contract with the St. Louis dailies. The pact also increases wages 30 cents an hour over a three-year period, establishes a new pension plan and calls for improved fringe benefits.

▶Locals 512 and 621, Paper Workers, have won substantial wage increases in a new pact with Brown Paper Mill Company, West Monroe, La.

**THEY READ IT
WITH INTEREST!**



The American
FEDERATIONIST

is labor's magazine, and it is a publication which has much value for the alert rank-and-file member as well as for the officer or leader. Tell your friends about labor's magazine. A year's subscription is only \$2.



To Promote Cooperation

(Continued from Page 35)

thought seems to have been that workers, who had made their contributions and sacrifices during the war, had a right to expect such a benefit out of the terms of peace.

In the preamble to the constitution of the I.L.O., it is recited:

"Whereas universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice;

"And whereas conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled * * *"

In 1944 the general conference of the I.L.O. restated the aims, purposes and principles of the I.L.O. in a document which has come to be known as the Declaration of Philadelphia. It is there stated:

"The Conference recognizes the solemn obligation of the International Labor Organization to further among the nations of the world programs which will achieve:

"(e) the effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the cooperation of management and labor in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures."

The International Labor Organization is now a well-established, highly respected institution housed in excellent quarters in Geneva. It collects, analyzes and distributes information and studies on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of life and labor. It functions on a tripartite basis, with government, employer and worker representatives participating.

The I.L.O. has after careful study and a considerable amount of debate adopted a number of measures designed to effectuate its basic aims and purposes. These have been largely in the form of conventions or recommendations on specific subjects. However, even the highest form of enactment, the convention, becomes binding on a member state only after that state has ratified or approved it in accordance with its own laws. Its principal obligation is to present the convention to its appropriate parliamentary body for approval or ratification. If the convention is acted upon favorably, there then arises the duty of making periodic reports to the I.L.O. as to the steps taken to put it into effect.

It is true that findings and pronouncements of the I.L.O. have been influential within the separate countries, aside from their legally binding effect, and especially so in the less advanced industrial countries.

It is not possible to list here all the activities of I.L.O. during the past thirty-five years or even all the conventions or recommendations it has adopted. There are now 104 conventions and 100 recommendations. To indicate the scope of the subjects covered, it is sufficient to note that they deal with specific matters like hours of work, minimum wage machinery, child labor, vacations, industrial health, safety and wel-

fare, social insurance, labor inspection and statistics, and also with things more intangible, like the right to organize and bargain collectively and the freedom of association.

With this description of the past in mind, we may now consider the nature and some of the difficulties of the proposed I.L.O. program for the conscious promotion of cooperation. This program is in keeping with the obligation to further the collaboration of workers and employers in improving productive efficiency and in the preparation and application of social and economic measures.

The International Labor Conference, after several weeks of debate, called upon Director-General Morse to "review the I.L.O.'s activities as a whole and to consider how these activities should be modified or supplemented so as to contribute effectively toward promoting labor-management cooperation and better human relations throughout the world."

This resolution was adopted by a vote of 117 to 16, the dissenters being largely the Eastern European bloc. The action took place in June.

This vote, added to what I heard in my informal discussions, convinced me that the member states are now definitely receptive to this program and that I.L.O. should proceed with it. The nations now becoming industrialized desire assistance and guidance, and the so-called advanced nations are anxious to provide it.

Experience has taught that stable and constructive labor-management relationships require the organization of workers into undominated trade unions and that such unions must be accepted by employers and their organizations as an integral part of industrial society.

It is also now understood that, in the collective dealings which follow organization, decisions should be reached jointly so far as possible by intelligent appraisal of the pertinent facts rather than by a test of strength or sheer force or threat. Through such an approach the parties benefit directly by avoiding the needless loss of wages and profits, and they also thereby give more consideration to the national or community welfare. They thus respect their duty to society, both by providing necessary services or products and by sharing fairly the benefits of increased productivity.

Nevertheless, no one in a democratic society advocates the flat prohibition of strikes or lockouts. A good deal of social or economic progress has been the result of obstinate disagreement. The right to shut down an enterprise is an essential part of the process of collective bargaining. What is desired is the maintenance of the right to shut down an industry over an industrial dispute but at the same time a cautious and rare use of this right, not by legal compulsion but by conviction that it is the rational and socially responsible course to follow.

The attainment of such an objective requires a patient educational effort by the International Labor Organization. It can-

not be accomplished by any form of legislative mandate. My recommendation is that the I.L.O. recruit a carefully selected staff for this purpose, who would be under instructions to transmit their guidance to the several countries and to conduct comparative studies through representative nationals of the country. They would thereby make their efforts more acceptable and would pace themselves in accordance with the capacity of the people involved.

The International Labor Organization would also have to provide statistical material, simplified literature and precedents of various kinds, and it would assist in developing methods of collecting data and in making possible more advanced training by visits to other countries and to a specialized institute at Geneva. All such guidance would have to be given equally to management and labor, because all relationships are at least two-sided, and if there is no parallel development in thinking the relationship is bound to suffer.

There are many obstacles that will have to be overcome. Traditional prejudices, old habits, a strong sense of class consciousness and lack of education are some of the more obvious. There is also the revival of nationalism in countries recently divested of the colonial status and the resistance or sensitivity to foreign influence.

Even in some of the more advanced nations there is still an unwillingness to accept the truth that with improvement in technology and productivity there must be an increase in production and, at the minimum, a maintenance of employment. This in turn depends on the willingness to establish wages and prices at such levels that the increased production can be sold and consumed.

Finally, there are the fundamentally opposed political and economic theories among the member states. The Communist nations voted against the resolution to proceed mainly on the ground that it "ignores the irreconcilable nature of the conflict between employers and workers." They themselves, however, ignore the progress that has been seen in democratic countries in the constantly enlarging areas of intelligent industrial cooperation.

The Eastern group also overlooked the fact that this program provides a vehicle by which the East and the West may demonstrate their ability to work together in a constructive activity to advance the standards of living and the general welfare of large numbers of people throughout the world. This could, far beyond abstract expressions, tend to satisfy the world that both groups are truly receptive to conciliation and desirous of finding grounds on which they may work in harmony rather than in antagonism.

On other matters they have fixed and repeatedly announced positions, from which they find it difficult to withdraw. This effort, on the other hand, is new and the potential benefits to mankind are vast. It seems to me that it would indeed be a double blessing if, in addition to its more obvious and direct benefits, this program of the I.L.O. should result in the lessening of international tensions and in proving that such an accomplishment is possible under the auspices of an international agency.

WHAT THEY SAY

Adlai E. Stevenson, former Governor of Illinois—Our world is not moving,



by the action of some inscrutable "hidden hand," toward spreading prosperity, rising standards and the extension of freedom. On the contrary, the drift is the other way—to population outstripping resources in backward lands, to wealth accumulating in the already wealthy West, and to the Communists' propaganda and infiltration. If they succeed in capturing the revolution of the underdeveloped areas—the uncommitted third of the world—as they have already captured the revolutions of Russia and China, the circle of freedom on earth will dangerously shrink. Yet anti-communism and self-interest should not be our only motive in offering a helping hand to people struggling for dignity and independence. Unselfishness and magnanimity are also part of the American record. And there is much we can do to help reverse the fatality in less fortunate lands whereby poverty breeds ever more poverty and hatred breeds ever more hatred.

Matthew Woll, A. F. of L. vice-president—Western diplomats, the



statesmen of democracy, have a dangerously false evaluation of the nature of the totalitarian state, of its basic aims and methods. This was true of Chamberlain in regard to Hitler, of Roosevelt and Churchill in their relations with Stalin, and of the present Western statesmen in their dealings with Khrushchev, Molotov and company. Our diplomatic statesmen persist in clinging to the notion that Moscow, Peiping and their ilk essentially represent national states which happen to be momentarily aggressive and not well-behaved. Our foreign policy

spokesmen are steeped in the teachings and principles of Grotius and in illusions about Communists being able or willing to have regard for agreements, pledges and pacts solemnly entered into. The statesmen speaking for a totalitarian power in negotiations with democratic states always speak as if they were negotiating from positions of greater strength than we do. This is so not because the totalitarian power—Communist Russia or Hitlerite Germany—was always stronger than its democratic opponents. It is so simply because the diplomats of dictatorship have always felt that the democracies would not dare to back up their words with power, while their own dictatorial regimes were always prepared to throw in all their strength for the achievement of any objective they desired. Illustrative and in confirmation of this is Hitler's march into the Rhineland in 1936—in violation of all treaties—as then mighty France and Britain merely looked on and did nothing at a moment of such brazen challenge. Similarly, totalitarian bluff and bombast enabled Stalin to get away with very much in the immediate post-Yalta days. Such Communist strategy enabled Mao Tse-tung to pull the wool over the eyes of many Western experts on the Far East during the last ten years. Only when the Western democracies dealt with the Soviet rulers from positions of strength, only when the Communist warlords realized that their bluff might be called, did the free world succeed in beating the Soviet statesmen—or in inflicting defeats on Soviet policy manifested through diplomacy and subversion or the threat of force. We need but cite how the Soviet imperialists were thwarted in their plot to grab Iran, how they were beaten in their barbarous blockade of Berlin. By the same token and in confirmation of the same truth, we cite in reverse the cruel fate which befell Czechoslovakia when the West did nothing. The utter folly of Western statesmanship clinging to the precepts and technique of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century diplomacy in dealings with the Soviet state and

its partners and satellites is painfully demonstrated in the attitude toward Communist China. In the eyes of British statesmanship, Mao Tse-tung is entitled to diplomatic recognition and U.N. membership merely because he has what London calls effective control. Recently, Mr. Anthony Nutting declared that "China is a fact" and must, therefore, be recognized and admitted into the United Nations. This type of approach is utterly unrealistic. It is diplomacy in a vacuum—insofar as the reality of the current world crisis and its nature are concerned.

Dave Beck, president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters—Our organization



became an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor fifty-two years ago. The international union was chartered in October, 1903, when an amalgamation convention was held at Niagara Falls. This convention formed the Teamsters National Union of America. That small group of delegates represented 50,000 drivers. They were endowed with a great determination to be a vital force in the transportation industry and in the labor movement of their times. That spirit of fifty-two years ago set the keynote which has actuated us to this day. In 1955 we are determined to be a vital force in our industry—in the great business of the distribution of goods and the performance of services—and to be a strong force in American labor. Those men who met in Niagara Falls were fundamental in their approach. They wanted to improve the wages, hours and conditions of team drivers through union action. That purpose is just as sound today as it was in 1903. As satisfying as it may be to look at our achievements of more than half a century and to take pride in our past, our greatest duty is to the present and to the future. We must keep pace with the times. We must look forward to the challenges of tomorrow and the promises which can only be fulfilled if we all work hard, meeting the problems of today and tomorrow with the intelligence and resourcefulness necessary to overcome all obstacles.

We Still Need Each Other

MARGE wrinkled her brow. The problem in physics was a puzzler. Suddenly she looked up from the bulky book and addressed her green-eyed chum.

"You know, Louise, our great-grandparents didn't have it so hard. Sure they had their worries. I know that. But I don't think their worries were anything like the ones we have nowadays."

Louise patted her hair, smiled and said:

"What makes you say a thing like that, Marge?"

"Well, just take an item like atomic energy. Those old-timers didn't need to bother their heads about the equations for nuclear fission. And they didn't even dream of most of the things we take for granted."

"Oh, I know that," said Louise.

"Sure. And listen to this, Louise. Do you suppose my great-grandfather ever gave a passing thought to the speed of a jet flying from here to San Francisco? Of course not. All he wanted to know was if the covered wagon train that left St. Louis in the spring would find a safe passage over the mountains before winter stopped them cold."

Louise was now tapping her thumb-nail with her fountain pen.

"I guess you do have a real point there," she said. "I'm sure my great-grandmother never lost any sleep the way I am trying to learn the traffic regulations so she could pass her driver's test."

"All she had to do," said Marge, "was know which way to pull the reins when she said 'gee' or 'haw.'"

Ray entered the room. He was Marge's brother. Ray was tall, broad-shouldered, bright and friendly.

"And some far-distant cousin of ours probably didn't have to worry too much about whether his father would let him have the automobile for the game Friday night," was his first contribution.

"Sure," said Marge. "They had their problems, but they really had it easy in those days. All they had to worry about was whether they had enough timber cut for the barn

or house raising when all the folks from round about came out to help them put up the house or the barn."

Ray tugged at his ear lobe as he listened to his sister's observations.

"That reminds me," he said. "The Junior Union is having a square dance in a couple of weeks. It's to open our new membership drive."

"I know," came from Marge. "But if you don't let me do some tall studying, sonny boy, I for one will be sitting at home."

Louise and Ray responded immediately to the powerful hint. They moved into the living room and Ray turned on the television set. They seated themselves on the sofa.

"I wonder what those Americans of long, long ago would have thought of this magical instrument," the girl said.

"We'll never know," responded Ray. "But what I'd really like to know is what they would have thought of our great industrial expansion in ever so many ways unknown to them. All kinds of new things—produced by methods they never even dreamed of. In fact, Louise, the methods of production weren't even dreamed of, in many cases, as recently as twenty-five years ago."

"It's a very different world from what it used to be, isn't it Ray?"

"It is in many ways. And here's another way it's different. Even in Grandpa's day—and that isn't so long ago, you know—it was a terribly dangerous thing for a man to belong to a union. It took a lot of courage to carry a union card in those days. The employers would blacklist and try to starve a man if they found out he belonged to the union. And now we have millions of men and women who are members of unions and mighty proud of it. Because they are organized, nobody can push them around. And these union members are working together to raise the standards of all wage-earners and to make this a better country in every way."

There was nothing on any TV channel to seize their interest. Ray turned the set off. He and Louise sat in

silence for a while. Then the girl spoke.

"I was thinking over what Marge said a few minutes ago. You know—about those old-time barn raisings. Well, don't you think we're still working together to build our homes and barns, only doing it a little different way? It isn't done by an actual barn raising, as in the old days, but by working together to protect the rights of ourselves and our fellow-men."

"Exactly right," agreed Ray. "The American trade unionist in his make-up is just like his pioneer forefathers. The union member makes his contribution by fulfilling his union obligations just as the pioneers made their contribution by helping one another to make their homes secure."

"That's what I mean, Ray," said Louise, her green eyes sparkling. "Maybe we aren't pioneers any more in this land of ours—but we are still dependent on one another for our well-being, and we all have to work together so we can go forward together."

Marge had walked in from the adjoining room as Louise was speaking.

"Do you mean," asked Marge, "in union there is strength?"

"Positively!" Louise replied.

"That's exactly it," said Ray. "In union there is strength. Strength against insecurity. Strength against exploitation. Strength against un-American ideologies. Don't forget this one thing, girls. It's true that those pioneers are long gone, but we're all Americans just as they were, and we have the same spirit they had. And so do our fathers and mothers. And the way people express that 'all together' spirit nowadays is by joining with other people in trade unions to achieve a purpose good for all. A hundred years ago the pioneers did it with barn raisings. Today we do it with trade unions. But it's really all the same fundamental idea."

"You were never more absolutely right, Ray," said Marge. "I couldn't possibly agree with you more completely. You have spoken the truth."



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